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# A HISTORY OF INDIAN LITERATURE

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LUDWIK STERNBACH

## SUBHĀSITA, GNOMIC AND DIDACTIC LITERATURE

OTTO HARRASSOWITZ • WIESBADEN

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EDITED BY JAN GONDA

PART OF VOL. IV, *Fasc. 1.*

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Since the standard German and English books on this subject (Winternitz, Macdonell, Keith) have long been out of print or have become almost completely outdated a new *History of Indian Literature* is without doubt a desideratum. Within the past sixty years our knowledge of the ancient and modern literatures of India has steadily progressed, and it is astonishing that the results of this research have never before been compiled and published together as a whole. Verlag Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, has therefore commissioned approximately thirty scholars to prepare a completely new *History of Indian Literature*. This work will cover comprehensively the ancient and medieval literatures of India, as well as for the first time the modern literature — much of which has never before been described. It is intended to publish the contributions, which are for the most part in English, at first separately, and then later as a handbook comprising nine volumes. The size of the work as a whole will be considerably larger than Winternitz's literary history.

This work is intended to be both accessible to the layman and useful for scholars initiating original research. The contributions will treat the material in a critical manner, and important source references, documentation, secondary sources, and bibliographies will prove to be valuable aids to further study. Translated quotations from the original texts will support the contributions.

As a matter of course, the results of modern literary scholarship will be thoroughly taken into account, but this will not exclude the use of the traditional historical methods of scholarship, which will here be of equal importance. Each contributor has been encouraged to deal with his subject area in the manner he feels is most appropriate, and it is intended in this way to present a *History of Indian Literature* that will encompass the entire spectrum of our present-day knowledge.

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Eine neue Geschichte der indischen Literaturen ist seit langem ein Desiderat. Die großen deutsch- und englischsprachigen Handbücher (Winternitz, Macdonell, Keith) sind längst vergriffen oder fast völlig veraltet. In den letzten 60 Jahren hat sich indes unsere Kenntnis der alten und modernen indischen Literaturen ständig erweitert. Um so erstaunlicher ist es, daß die Ergebnisse der Forschung niemals zusammenfassend publiziert worden sind.

Auf Anregung des Verlages Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, haben etwa 30 Fachgelehrte die Bearbeitung einer ganz neuen Geschichte der indischen Literaturen übernommen. Sie wird ebenso die altindischen wie die mittelindischen und neueren Literaturen zusammenfassend behandeln — letztere zum Teil erstmalig. Es ist daran gedacht, die größtenteils englischsprachigen Beiträge einzeln zu publizieren und später in neun Bänden als Handbuch zusammenzufassen. Der Gesamtumfang wird also über dem der Winternitzschen Literaturgeschichte liegen.

Die Geschichte der indischen Literaturen soll auch für den interessierten Laien verständlich sein, wenngleich sich die Beiträge durch eine kritische Behandlung des Stoffes auszeichnen werden. Quellenangaben und andere Dokumentierung, Sekundärliteratur und Bibliographien weisen Wege des vertiefenden Weiterstudiums; übersetzte Zitate aus den Originaltexten stützen das im Text Gesagte.

Selbstverständlich, daß die Resultate der allgemeinen Literaturwissenschaft der Gegenwart berücksichtigt werden. Das schließt insbesondere nicht aus, daß die traditionelle historische Betrachtungsweise in dieser Literaturgeschichte gleichermaßen ihren Platz hat. Diese Freiheit des Forschens und Darstellens wird ohne Zweifel das Gesamtbild beleben und die Geschichte der indischen Literaturen als ein bunt schillerndes Spektrum unserer derzeitigen Kenntnis der indischen Literaturen ausweisen.

1973 werden folgende Bände erscheinen:

J. D. M. Derrett, *Dharmaśāstra and Juridical Literature*,  
*ca. 67 Seiten, broschiert ca. DM 38,—*

A. Schimmel, *Islamic Literatures*  
*ca. 53 Seiten, broschiert ca. DM 28,—*

L. Sternbach, *Subhāṣita, Gnostic and Didactic Literature*  
*ca. 116 Seiten, broschiert ca. DM 58,—*

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Philosophical Literature  
Other Sciences

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Ludwik Sternbach

## ANTHOLOGIES

Most of the works of Sanskrit literature contain a countless number of moral and ethical verses<sup>1</sup>. These verses that are preserved in metrical form are mines of practical good sense.

Indian authors displayed a profound knowledge of human nature with all its weaknesses and defects and they have given sound moral advice about the various situations in which human beings were likely to find themselves. These authors particularly believed that the present conduct of men was a result of their previous existence and that their present action would therefore bear heavily on their future. In order to attain happiness in their future life their actions should be good and moral. To help people to conduct themselves properly they gave them moral and ethical advice and guidance, and instruction in practical wisdom. This resulted in didactic literature with its wise sayings, advisory sentences and sententious maxims, and in the composition of innumeral pithy epigrams of proverbial philosophy—miniature word-paintings which contain deep thoughts masterly incorporated in two verse measures. They are scattered throughout the entire Sanskrit literature. These epigrams, aphorisms, wise sayings, maxims and adages, however quaintly expressed, contain the essence of some moral truths or practical lessons. They are drawn from real life and give the fruit of philosophy grafted on the stem of experience; they furnish an index to the spirit of a nation and are the result of its civilization. In India most of these wise sayings in poetical form, mostly composed in *śloka-s* or *anuṣṭubh-s*, belonged to the mass of oral tradition; they were not assembled in any collections but floated freely in order to be quoted at any appropriate occasion by Indian intellectuals. They not only contained beautiful thoughts but they were also expressed in cultivated language, well and beautifully turned and eloquently said. They dealt with a variety of subjects and had as their object practical wisdom or a moral thought by entertaining examples as well as precepts. They carried both mood and suggestion even if quoted out of the context and they had often a tinge of poetry, the poetical skill being exhibited in the intricate play of words which created a slight wit,

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. L. STERNBACH, *Subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s*, A Forgotten Chapter in the Histories of Sanskrit Literature, in *Indologica Taurinensia*, Torino 1973, I pp. 169–255; L. STERNBACH, *The Subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s as Treasuries of Cāṇakya's Sayings*, V, I, Series 36, Hoshiarpur 1966, p. 1–20.

humour, satire and sententious precepts; they arose laughter, scorn, compassion and other moods. Often these short pieces of excellent poetry that were written by known poets and contained universal truths became generally adopted as wise and pleasing expression of verity, so that ultimately their authorship was forgotten and they became authorless. These are *subhāṣita-s* or *sūkti-s*—sayings, epigrams, sententious precepts and didactic teachings.

According to Buddhist teachings *subhāṣita-s* were well-spoken words “filled with *dhamma* and not with *adhamma*”. They were spoken in a pleasant and not unpleasant manner and they spoke the truth and not the untruth<sup>2</sup>.

From the sententious precepts three other types of sayings must be discerned: (1) quotations from literary Sanskrit works by known or unknown authors being either descriptive verses or single poetical verses standing by themselves in which the poet concisely depicted a single phase of emotion or a single interesting situation within the limits of a finely finished form; (2) popular maxims or adages; and (3) proverbs.

The quotations from literary sources, also “beautifully turned” and eloquently said (*subhāṣita-s*, *sūkti-s*) were often quoted at the king’s court. The use of such quotations in conversations proved that the man who cited them was knowledgeable in Sanskrit literature and an erudite.

The popular maxims and adages—*sūtra-s*, were short simple and unadorned sayings, not constructed in poetical form, but containing some wise observations handed down from antiquity. They were usually attributed to a known personality, e.g. to Bṛhaspati, to Cāṇakya, etc. and became known as Bṛhaspati-sūtra-s or Cāṇakya-sūtra-s.

The proverbs—*lokokti-s* (also called *lokavākya-s*, *prācīnavākya-s* etc.) were short sentences which expressed a well-known truth or common fact, ascertained by experience or observation and often repeated. They were not constructed in poetical form either.

A *subhāṣita* containing sententious precepts is for instance the following quotation from the little known Śrīsūktāvalī<sup>3</sup> saying:

“Garments are cleaned by water; the mind by truth; the soul by *ahiṃsā*; the intellect by knowledge”.

A *subhāṣita* containing a descriptive verse written by an anonymous author appears for instance in Vallabhadeva’s Subhāṣitāvalī (1850) saying:

“Both hands clenched, / running eyes and nose / and shivering skin: / as if in a painting, / the traveller stands on the river-bank / despairing how to get across”<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Suttanipāta, 3; Mahāvagga 3. 450.

<sup>3</sup> Also quoted in the Subhāṣitārṇava 192. The verse was influenced by a verse from the Mānava-dharmaśāstra 5,109 (in some editions 5,108), Viṣṇu-smṛti (22, 92), Vasiṣṭha-dharmaśūtra (3, 60), Bauddhāyana-dharmaśūtra (1, 5, 8, 2).

<sup>4</sup> JOHN BROUGH’S translation in his Poems from Sanskrit, in Penguin Classics L. 198, no. 202, p. 201.

A *subhāṣita* containing a poetical verse standing by itself, depicting a single emotion is for instance a verse often quoted<sup>5</sup> which says:

“Pure logic may convince a lover’s heart / that ampler blessings flow when we’re apart. / When she is here, my lady is but one: / when she’s away, in all things I see her alone”<sup>6</sup>.

An example of a popular maxim (*sūtra*) is a sentence from the Cāṇakya-sutrāṇi (328) which says:

“Punishment must be proportionate to the offence”

and a proverb (*lokokti*) is for instance an axiom quoted in the Laukikanyā-yāñjali<sup>7</sup> which says:

“Heartless words get heartless answers”.

Probably no other literature in the world can be compared with Sanskrit literature as far as the variety of subjects dealt with in short epigrams is concerned. Sanskrit poets cultivated poetry to such an extent that every work, whether on love or hate, life or death, and even on law, philosophy, logic, medicine, horses or manure was written in verse. The condensation of thought in a short verse was masterly performed and epigrams on different subjects of life are found in almost all poetical works. They were composed in verse because their shortness and condensed nature made it easier for a common reader to commit them to memory.

*Subhāṣita*-s and *sūkti*-s were usually construed in a four *pāda* verse—a *śloka* or an *anuṣṭubh*—in which a thought or a truth was condensed in four quarters of the stanza. But that was not always so. Sometimes two *pāda*-s or even one *pāda* proclaimed a truth and two or three *pāda*-s illustrated this truth with an example or with an episode from Sanskrit literature: purāṇa-s, epics, etc. Examples of this last case are Kṣemendra’s Cārucaryāśataka and its imitation Dyā Dviveda’s Nītimañjarī, Kusumadeva’s Drṣṭāntaśataka, Guṇāṇi’s Upadeśaśataka or the Purāṇārthasaṃgraha.

A second kind of *subhāṣita* is illustrated by a verse from the Drṣṭāntaśataka (60) where we read:

“Who praises merits which do not exist is afterwards ashamed of himself; who will not be ridiculed who says that the *karṇikāra*-flower<sup>8</sup> has a sweet smell?”,

<sup>5</sup> Saduktikarṇāmṛta (929 = 2, 91, 4), Subhāṣita-muktāvalī (14, 12), Subhāṣita-ratna-bhāṇḍāgāra (277, 19), Padyaracanā (107, 239), Rasikajivana (976), Sāhitya-darpaṇa (*ad* 681; p. 285), (and other *subhāṣita*-saṃgraha-s in MS. form), as well as interpolations in the Vetālapañcaviṃśatikā (3, 22, in *a ad* 1, 15, p. 15, p. 100 and *ad* 12, 1, p. 153) and among doubtful verses of Bhartṛhari’s Śataka-s (no. 770).

<sup>6</sup> JOHN BROUGH’S translation, *op. cit.*, no. 122, p. 122.

<sup>7</sup> A Handful of Popular Maxims, I–III, by Col. G. A. JACOB, NSP 1911–1925 and B. BHATTACHARYA, in Indian Culture 12, 2, p. 98–102.

<sup>8</sup> *Pterospermum acerifolium*, known for its bad smell.

or a verse from the *Purāṇārthasaṃgraha* (*Rājanīti* 130) which says:

“An accursed person does not attain good results though he be engaged in good works. Reṇukā, trying to accompany her husband, became the destroyer of the world”.

The most famous and well-known *subhāṣita-s* containing sententious sayings, which belonged to the floating mass of oral tradition, were probably strung together in the beginning of the Christian era; then they were also attributed to a well-known author in *majozem gloriam*. Probably Bhartṛhari's epigrams and Cāṇakya's sayings became thus known.

On the other hand, beginning from the tenth century A. D. many authors understood that *subhāṣita-s* developed literary ability and good taste, and they used them to teach cultured men right behaviour. Possibly they also had connected different wise sayings and (or) descriptive verses of contemporary or earlier poets in order to save them from disappearance, including them in collections of *subhāṣita-s*, anthologies of Sanskrit poetry, which were called *kośa-s*, *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* or given similar names. In the *Sāhityadarpaṇa* (6, 308, p. 565) a *kośa* is defined as “a compilation of verses, independent from each other and arranged according to divisions (*vrajjyā-s*); this is particularly beautiful”. In other words, a *subhāṣita-saṃgraha* is a collection of stray verses composed by various poets and divided according to subject matter. How that division was made depended on the compiler of the collection. There exist hundreds of such *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* of which only a few were edited.

Although the arrangement of the different *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* depended on the individuality of the compilers, their contents are stereotyped<sup>9</sup> and the verses quoted are often identical, since the compilers often drew upon similar sources. Several *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* are divided according to the three or four *puruṣārtha-s* and deal with *dharma*, *artha* and *kāma* and in some cases also with *mokṣa*. The first Prākṛit *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s*, the *Sūktiratnahāra*, the *Subhāṣita-sudhā-nidhi* and some Tamil anthologies (e.g. the *Nālaṭṭiyār* and the *Tiru-k-kural*) are divided in this way. The division of Bhartṛhari's epigrams and some collections of stray verses based on these epigrams is similar; these collections are divided into three parts—*nīti* (*dharma* and *artha*), *vairāgya* (*dharma* and *mokṣa*) and *śṛṅgāra* (*kāma* and *artha*).

The *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* deal with different themes and one is often impressed by the polarity of views on the same subject and paradoxes expressed differently in the *subhāṣita-s* included in them. On the one hand we are thought to live a carefree and passionate life, on the other a life of self-control and self-abnegation<sup>10</sup>. A characteristic feature of the *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* is the

<sup>9</sup> The *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* deal in particular with general rules of proper behaviour for intercourse among men, with general reflections on worldly wisdom and duty, on women, love, fate, fame, human efforts, richness and poverty, flattery of kings, etc.

<sup>10</sup> Bhartṛhari's epigram no. 85.

variety of moods and descriptions of different aspects of life, sometimes in glaring extremes, while the truth always lies between the extremes. Often both sides of a subject, as well as the middle, are described vividly and convincingly. And so we find for instance on one occasion the description of women in laudatory terms and on the other occasion in deprecatory terms. We read on the one side that

“there is no difference whatsoever between the Goddess of good Fortune and women who (are destined to) bear children, who secure many blessings, who are worthy of reverence and who brighten the household”<sup>11</sup>

and on the other that

“falsehood, hastiness, deceit, senselessness, covetousness, uncleanness and cruelty are the inborn faults of women”<sup>12</sup>

because

“what do the fair-eyed women not do after they have crept into the tender hearts of men? They befool, they enchant, they mock, they threaten, they delight and they drive into despair”<sup>13</sup>.

For each occasion we find among *subhāṣita-s* appropriate verses of different poets (but sometimes even of the same poet) who composed conflicting verses for conflicting occasions<sup>14</sup>.

Some *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* are peculiar as far as their contents are concerned; they also contain “useful” information which can under no circumstances be considered as poetical, didactic or “well turned” verses; some of these verses for instance deal with gardening, manure, swords, archery, etc. Such a *subhāṣita-saṃgraha* is the Śārngadhara-paddhati where we find, for instance, a verse (2255) saying:

“To the ingredients consisting of flesh, fat, etc., of fish, hogs and other animals, one should add hot water to the extent required; this should be kept by the wise in a vessel for a fortnight in a lukewarm place; then it becomes the manure *kuṇapa* which richly nourishes the plants”.

<sup>11</sup> Mānava-dharmaśāstra 9, 26. Similarly also Mahābhārata, Poona ed. 5, 38, 11 and 13, 46, 14.

<sup>12</sup> Cānakya-nīti Śākhā-sampradāya (no. 60), Pañcatantra (*textus ornatior* 1, 143; *textus simplicior* 1, 195), Hitopadeśa (1, 210), Vetālapañcaviṃśatikā in Śivadāsa's version (3, 6), Mādhvānalakathā (125), Bhartṛhari's Epigrams (386), Subhāṣita-ratna-bhāṇḍāgāra (348, 1), Subhāṣita-sudhā-ratna-bhāṇḍāgāra (226, 1), Subhāṣitaratnākara (113, 1), Subhāṣitārṇava (219), Samayocitapadyaratnamālīkā (1 a 90), O. BÖHTLINGK's Indische Sprüche (328). See also L. STERNBACH, Juridical Studies in Ancient Indian Law, II, p. 243.

<sup>13</sup> Prabandhacandrodaya (1, 27), Bhartṛhari's Epigrams (no. 336), Vikramacarita (Jainistic Recension II, 11), Śukasaptati (*textus ornatior* 200, 5–8), Pañcatantra (*textus simplicior*, Kosegarten 1, 210), Subhāṣita-ratna-bhāṇḍāgāra (350, 69), Subhāṣita-sudhā-ratna-bhāṇḍāgāra (229, 69), other *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* in MS. form, and O. BÖHTLINGK's Indische Sprüche (6893).

<sup>14</sup> Cf. D. B. DISKALKAR, Subhāṣita-s in Inscriptions, in JOIB 11, 3, p. 239ff.

It is clear that this verse was composed neither for the development of literary ability, nor for teaching right behaviour, but to give useful information, the more so as we find quite a number of verses of that sort in this *subhāṣita-saṃgraha*; it was composed as an encyclopaedic work for every-day use.

Sanskrit *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* can be divided into three groups: (1) *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* virtually only composed of sententious sayings; (2) *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* almost only composed of quotations from literary works, particularly “beautifully turned” and eloquently said, and also dealing with the description of nature, different moods, suggestions or *anyokti-s*; and (3) *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* mixed, i.e. including both types of *subhāṣita-s*.

The sententious sayings were mostly construed in *śloka-s* or *anuṣṭubh-s*, while the descriptive and other „beautifully turned” verses were mostly construed in longer metres, since these metres are better suited to this type of poetry. Therefore the second group of verses was mostly written in *āryā*, *vasantatilakā*, *śikharīṇī*, *śārdūlavikrīḍita* and other longer metres.

The *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s*, which form a valuable, but at the same time inappreciated and almost forgotten branch of Sanskrit literature, are particularly important from the point of view of the history of that literature, and because of the light they throw upon the Indian way of life and thought. In particular, *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* preserve ancient thought and moral teaching, and also works of smaller and less known Sanskrit authors whose poems were lost<sup>15</sup>. Many Sanskrit poets would not be known to us even by name, if they

<sup>15</sup> Already in the 19<sup>th</sup> century some scholars appreciating the value of unknown poets preserved in the *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* and their importance to the Sanskrit literature, edited and often also translated some stray verses from anthologies. Cf. TH. AUFRECHT, Auswahl von unedirten Strophen verschiedener Dichter, in ZDMG 16, p. 749–51; 25, p. 238–43; 25, p. 455–62; idem, Beiträge zur Kenntniss indischer Dichter, in ZDMG 36, p. 361–383 and p. 509–559 (cf. O. BÖHTLINGK, Bemerkungen, in ZDMG 36, p. 659–60); idem, Über die Paddhati von Śārngadhara, in ZDMG 27, p. 1–120 (cf. ZDMG 27, p. 626ff. and 28, p. 156ff.); idem, Miscellen, in Indische Studien 17, p. 168–72; R. FISCHER, Verkannte Sprichwörter, in Festgabe von Rudolf von Roth, p. 114–6. These researches are conducted to present days. Cf. B. CH. CHHABRA, Little Known Sanskrit Poets, in The Indo-Aryan Culture, July 1961, p. 30–42; J. B. CHAUDHURI, Some Unknown or Less-known Sanskrit Poets discovered from the Subhāṣita-sāra-samuccaya, in B. C. Law, Volume II, p. 145–158; H. D. SHARMA, Some Unknown Sanskrit Poets of Mithilā, in Jhā Commemoration Volume, p. 359–365; L. STERNBACH, Ravigupta and his Gnostic Verses, in ABORI 48, p. 137–160; H. H. INGALLS, Yogeśvara and his Favourite Poets, in ALB 31–32, p. 184–201; idem, A Sanskrit Poetry of Village and Field, Yogeśvara, in JAOS 74, 3, p. 119ff.; S. C. BANERJI, Stray Verses of Bengal Poets, in IHQ 38.2–3; p. 131–144; D. B. DISKALKAR, Sanskrit and Prakrit Poets known from Inscriptions, in JOIB 7; 7.1–2, p. 78ff.; V. VIRA RAGHAVACHARYA, in NIA 1, p. 300ff.; (cf. TH. AUFRECHT, Zwei Pāṇini zugeheilte Strophen, in ZDMG 14, p. 581–582; cf. also P. PETERSON, Second Report and in JRS of 1891, p. 311–36); S. K. RAMACANDRA RAO, Pāṇini’s Poems in BhJ 5.11; M. B. EMENEAU, Signed Verses by Sanskrit Poets, in Indian Linguistics 16, p. 41–52; HARADATTA SHARMA, The Subhāṣitahārāvalī of Śrī Hari Kavi and Some Poets enjoying the Patronage of

and their stray verses had not been quoted in *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s*. In other cases, some parts of the literary works of well-known authors, which otherwise would not be known to us, are preserved in *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s*. In them we may also find passages from well-known works not preserved in the manuscripts available to us<sup>16</sup>. *Subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* are also important for chronological reasons, since they are mostly dated and thus they provide information about the time in which poets, named by them, lived (e.g. a poet named in an anthology from the thirteenth century A. D. must have lived before that date or be contemporaneous with the author of the anthology).

*Subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* also have an enormous poetical and educative value, even if they belong to a comparatively late period and even if the verses quoted in them are anonymous. They teach us what was considered right behaviour among the cultured people and as such constitute a code of good conduct applied in ancient India. They vividly depict the spirit of an age, the task and ability during various periods, country life, life in the village, different occupations of men and women, their habits and manners, their activities, etc. sometimes better and with deeper insight than the quotations from *kāvya-s* and epics. The *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* do not only preserve a floating mass of oral tradition and current wise sayings, but also excellent poetry. They are real gems of poetical expression with minute descriptions of everything that was worth noting and describing; they are like sparks and, on account of the terseness of their diction and their striking, but easily comprehensible imagination they drive home the ancient truths, which have become almost banal, with a fresh impact. *Subhāṣita-s* included in the *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* are store-houses of information written in beautiful language about life in India between the eleventh and nineteenth century. This information, easily available in these collections can only be found there, since the other sources of Indian literature rather describe the life of kings, brahman-s and nobles.

We can assume that not all *subhāṣita-s* included in the *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* were originally put down by the compiler of the *subhāṣita-saṃgraha*, particularly, if they are preserved in one manuscript only. It is known that the scribes liked to add wise sayings to the text, which were similar to those quoted before. If, for instance, the original *subhāṣita-saṃgraha* quoted two or three verses dealing with the good and bad sides of wealth, the scribes were likely to

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Muslim Rulers, in IHQ, Sept. 1934, p. 478-485; cf. RAMAVATARA SARMA, A Note on Sanskrit and Sanskrit Anthologies, in BORS 15, 2, p. 101-4.

It may be noted also that C. CAPELLER, who at the beginning of the twentieth century was struck by the beauty of the Sanskrit *subhāṣita* literature translated into Sanskrit some aphorisms, maxims, etc. written by German and Greek poets and writers; he called his translation *Subhāṣita-mālikā* and *Yavana-śataka* (published in IA (1903), p. 300-308; 399-409; 438-464; 471-479; (1904) 324ff. and (1905) 60ff.).

<sup>16</sup> "lost passages" of the Mānava-dharmaśāstra are preserved in the Ślokāntara, an Old Javanese *subhāṣita-saṃgraha*. Cf. L. STERNBACH, Sanskrit *Subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* in Old Javanese and Tibetan, in ABORI 43, p. 115-58 (see p. 126-7 and 151).

add other *subhāṣita-s* from the floating mass of oral tradition dealing with the same subject, since many *subhāṣita-s* must have been known to them<sup>17</sup>.

A large majority of verses included in the *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* are anonymous but they are often ascribed to certain poets or poems. Usually these ascriptions are reliable and as such are very useful for the reconstruction of the critical text of the said work. Particularly the reconstruction of non-uniform texts, such as the *purāṇa-s*, can be greatly facilitated by the use of texts preserved in the *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* and specifically attributed to a given *purāṇa*, the more so as we can usually date and place the texts of the *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* and thus know in what form it was current in a certain time and, possibly, at a certain place<sup>18</sup>.

If quotations in *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* are ascribed to a certain work and are written in the style, language and spirit of the said work and if they are not found in any of the manuscripts of that work the possibility that they form part of it should also be taken into consideration in the reconstruction of that work. They may have been "lost" or purposely omitted from the original text by some scribes<sup>19</sup>. In the *Sūktiratnahāra* we find, for instance, some verses attributed to the *Kauṭīliya-Arthaśāstra*<sup>20</sup> which we do not find in any texts of this *arthaśāstra*. It is possible that they originally belonged to it, since they are written in the style and language of this treaty and are construed in its spirit<sup>21</sup>, or that they are a variant<sup>22</sup> of another work (i.e. the *Mānava-dharmaśāstra* in a form very different from the usually accepted text of this *dharmaśāstra*<sup>23</sup>).

The *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* do not always give us the names of the authors of the individual verses. Often they only say that "somebody" is their author or that the verse was taken from a specific work, e.g. the *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa*. Sometimes they ascribe a verse to a mythical poet, e.g. to *Vyāsa*, which does not necessarily mean that it was taken from the *Mahābhārata*, and they may

<sup>17</sup> That was in particular noted in the *kathā*-literature where different texts and particularly different younger versions of a particular *kathā*-work became swollen by various *subhāṣita-s* dealing with the same subject, due to interpolations made by scribes or compilers of younger versions. Cf. L. STERNBACH, *The kāvyā-portions in the kathā-literature; An Analysis*, vol. I, p. 27 and 60.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. L. STERNBACH, *Purāṇic Texts in Subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s*, 1. the *Khāḍgala-kṣanādhyaṣa* of the *Viṣṇudharmottara*; 2. *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa* in the *Śārṅgadharapaddhati*, in *Purāṇa* 13, 2, p. 102–132.

<sup>19</sup> It must however be realized that the ascriptions to a given work might be wrong. See below.

<sup>20</sup> This *arthaśāstra* as preserved to our days is known only in one recension and variants are usually unimportant, but sometimes new variants occur in this anthology; they might be very useful for the reconstruction of a critical text.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. L. STERNBACH, *Some Unknown Stanzas attributed to Kauṭīliya* in *University of Rajasthan, Studies in Hindi and Sanskrit* (1967–68), p. 1–5 and L. STERNBACH, *An Additional Note on "Some Stanzas attributed to Kauṭīliya"*, *ibid.* for 1971.

<sup>22</sup> Or paraphrase.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. *Sūktiratnahāra* 2, 87, 1–2 (*mantradeśa*); *Mānava-dharmaśāstra* 7, 149 and 7, 147.



also give the epithet or the by-name of the poet only. The ascription of authorship of a verse to an individual poet or work is not always reliable and we often notice that in one *subhāṣita-saṃgraha* a given verse is ascribed to one poet and in another *subhāṣita-saṃgraha* to another poet. Some verses quoted in different *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* are sometimes even attributed to six different poets. Their names may be entirely different, and in other cases only some letters of probably the same name were changed, e.g. Solloka, Solhoka, Sohloka, Sohṇoka or Sonhoka and sometimes we do not know whether the verse was, for instance, ascribed to Silhaṇa or to Bilhaṇa, or whether Silhaṇa was the same man as Bilhaṇa.

In some cases different scribes of the same work added different ascriptions to the same verse. We find, for instance, that in one manuscript of the same *subhāṣita-saṃgraha*<sup>24</sup> a verse is ascribed to one author, while in another manuscript of the same anthology that verse is ascribed to another author. It may be assumed that in most cases wrong ascriptions of verses are not due to the compilers of the anthologies but to the carelessness of the scribes.

As to ascriptions to works and not to individual poets, some *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* even mix up well-known works, e.g. the Mahābhārata, with the Rāmāyaṇa or the Mānava-dharmaśāstra and even sometimes the so-called Cāṇakya's sayings. This proves that particularly in these cases the compiler of the particular *subhāṣita-saṃgraha* did not quote the verse from the original but from his memory, which failed him, or that he was misled by a definite tradition.

Wrong ascriptions to different authors, that occur mostly in modern *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s*, are often due to the carelessness of the editors. Sometimes the first *pāda* is identical in several *subhāṣita-s* while the next *pāda-s* are not. If the editor did not take enough care to check the whole verse with the original he often made mistakes in ascribing the particular verse to the right poet or work<sup>25</sup>.

Despite these shortcomings the ascriptions of verses quoted in *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* are of great value. We can assume with great certainty that if a verse was ascribed to a particular author in more than one *subhāṣita-saṃgraha*<sup>26</sup> and if it was not ascribed to another author in another *subhāṣita-saṃgraha*, the ascription was right.

Since Indian authors were very fond of quoting wise sayings and moral teachings, they did not only cite them in the various anthologies, but they also wove them into some of their literary works, in particular into the *kathā*.

<sup>24</sup> E. g. in the Padyāvalī of Rūpa Gosvāmin or in the Subhāṣitaratnaakoṣa.

<sup>25</sup> Many of such examples could be quoted, e.g. in the Subhāṣita-ratna-bhāṇḍāgāra.

<sup>26</sup> If two *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* are independent anthologies. For instance, if a verse is ascribed to the same author in the Subhāṣita-ratna-bhāṇḍāgāra and the Śārṅgadhara-paddhati we are still not certain whether this verse was really composed by the given author, because the Subhāṣita-ratna-bhāṇḍāgāra uncritically quotes the ascriptions found in the Śārṅgadhara-paddhati.

literature. Most of the collections of fables were written in order to teach young princes worldly wisdom and so the science of proper conduct (*nītiśāstra*) are full of *subhāṣita*-s. Another branch of Sanskrit literature which contains innumerable *subhāṣita*-s and *sūkti*-s, but rather in the form of quotations from other literary works than from moral sayings, are the works on poetics and dramaturgy. In order to illustrate the points of their teachings, *rasa*-s, etc. the authors quoted verses from various poems of poets who in many cases are not otherwise known to us. Many *sāhitya-śāstra*-s and *alaṃkāraśāstra*-s can also be considered as *subhāṣita-saṃgraha*-s composed of illustrative verses. Even some commentaries like the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali are storehouses of *subhāṣita*-s.

*Subhāṣita*-s are found in Sanskrit literature from the earliest times. Sententious verses already occur in the Ṛgveda<sup>27</sup>, in great number in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa<sup>28</sup>, in the *gāthā*-s in the Brāhmaṇa-s, in the Upaniṣad-s, in the epics and in the *dharmaśāstra*-s.

The oldest *subhāṣita-saṃgraha*-s known to exist in India are Hāla's *Sattasāi*, Jayavallabha's *Vajjālagga* and the *Chapaṇṇaya Gāhāo*<sup>29</sup>.

Hāla's *Sattasāi* (Skt. *Saptaśatī*, popularly known as *Gāhakośa*, or *Gāthakośa*, or *Gāthāsaptaśatī*<sup>30</sup>) does not seem to be a work of a single writer, as was often assumed, but a compilation of different, mostly lyric verses, which give varied and charming expression to the emotion of love. It would appear that Hāla, who was a gifted compiler and redactor, polished some of them himself and gave them the final poetical touch for the first time<sup>31</sup>.

<sup>27</sup> E.g. IV, 33, 11; VII, 32, 9 or 104, 12.

<sup>28</sup> E.g. VII, 15.

<sup>29</sup> Unless we accept the unlikely theory that Āryaśūra, the author of the *Subhāṣita-ratnakaraṇḍakakathā* is identical with Āryaśūra, the author of the *Jātaka-mālā* (4th century A.D.). Cf. ALB 25, p. 34. Also the earlier collections of moral sayings, such as the didactic works of Amitagati (the *Subhāṣitaratnasamdoha*) and *Dharmaparīkṣā* (10th and the beginning of the 11th century) and Hemacandra's *Yogaśāstra* belong to the early *subhāṣita* literature; they expound the teachings of Jainism.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. V. V. MIRASHI, The Original Name of *Gāthāsaptaśatī*, in Papers submitted to the 13th All-India Oriental Conference XIII, 2, p. 370-4.

<sup>31</sup> The best editions are still A. WEBER's containing the Gaṅgādhara recension, published in AKM 7, p. 4 in 1881 and his *Saptaśatākam des Hāla*. Ein Beitrag zur Kenntniss des Prākṛit, AKM 5, p. 3 as well as his *Über Bhuvanapāla's Commentar zu Hāla's Śaptaśatākam*, in Indische Studien 16, p. 1-204. Another good edition is the *Gāthāsaptaśatī* of *Sātavāhana* . . . ed. by Pt. DURGĀPRASĀD and KĀSINĀTH PAṆḌURANG PARAB in KM. 21. Other editions are noted in the *Saptaśatīsāra* with *Bhāvadīpikā* of Vema Bhūpāla, ed. by Dr. A. N. UPADHYE, Shivaji University Sanskrit and Prakrit Series, Vol. III, Shivaji University, Kolhapur 1970, p. 20-24. The two A. WEBER editions contain a word by word German translation. Specimen of metrical translations into German are by H. BRUNNHOFER, G. MEYER and A. WILLBRANDT, in "Über den Geist der Indischen Lyrik", Leipzig 1882, p. 24ff.; *Essays and Studien*, Strassburg 1885, p. 289ff.; and in *Neue Freie Presse* (Wien) of 19 April 1899 (and *Westermanns Illustrierte Monatsschriften* (1900), vol. 87) respectively. G. GARREZ in his book-review of AKM 5, p. 3 published translations in

There are seven different recensions of the Sattasaī which differ from each other as to the form of the text, the order of verses and the textual subject matter. The number of verses in these recensions usually amounts to 700 and sometimes even to 1006 verses<sup>32</sup>, but only 430 verses—*gāthā-s* (musical stanzas)<sup>33</sup>—appear in all the recensions. Most of the remaining verses are probably interpolations that were often written by scribes who, knowing the popularity of Hāla's work, added verses of the same theme which they knew by heart.

Hāla was often identified with king Śātavāhana (Śālivāhana, Śālavāhana etc.) ruling in Pratiṣṭhāna in the Āsmaka country on the bank of Godāvarī and husband of Lilāvati, the daughter of king Silāmegha of Siṃhala island<sup>34</sup>. His work was written in Prākṛit, or specifically in the Māhārāṣṭrī dialect<sup>35</sup> current in the Māhārāṣṭra, the land of Mārāṭha-s<sup>36</sup>, between the Vindhya mountains and the Godāvarī river<sup>37</sup>. The Sattasaī was possibly from the second century A. D., but probably from the period between 200 and 600 A. D.<sup>38</sup>.

French of some of Hāla's *gāthā-s* (Journal Asiatique 6, 20, p. 197–99). There are also full and partial translations of Hāla's work into Telugu by R. A. K. SHARMA (Anantapur 1931 and Hyderabad 1964), by V. V. SUBBAYYA (Guntur 1950), by K. P. and V. R. SHASTRI (Tenali 1951), by K. PRABHĀKARA SHASTRI and K. VIRARAGHAVA SVAMI (Tenali 1951), by G. NARASIMHA SASTRI (Tenali 1956), by G. L. N. SHASTRI (Tenali 1956), by K. VENKATACHARYA (Hyderabad 1962–3), by CH. L. NĀRĀYAṆA ŚĀSTRĪ (Madras 1963), by V. PRABHĀKARA SHASTRI (Madras 1966); into Marāṭhī by S. N. BANAHATTI (Poona 1955), by S. A. JOGALEKAR (Poona 1956), by A. MANGRULKAR and D. M. HATAVALANE (Poona 1958), by P. B. BADIGER (Sholapur 1969); into Malayalam by VALLATHOL (1879); into Bengali by R. G. BASAK (Calcutta 1957); into Hindi by PARAMANAND SHASTRI (Meerut 1965), J. PATHAK (n.p. 1969), by NARMADEŚVARA CHATURVEDI (Varanasi 1961) (paraphrases); into Kannaḍa by S. V. PARAMEŚVARA BHATTĀ (Mysore 1966); and even into Persian.

<sup>32</sup> The Poona edition of S. A. JOGALEKAR.

<sup>33</sup> The Sattasaī is not divided into chapters (*adhyāya-s*, *paddhati-s*, etc.).

<sup>34</sup> Described in Lilāvati, a Romantic *kāvya* in Mahārāṣṭrī Prākṛit of Kōṭhala in SJS 31 (Bombay 1966). Cf. HEMACANDRA'S Prākṛit Grammar 1, 8, 211; his Deśināmamālā 8, 66 and 2, 36. Cf. A. N. UPADHYE'S edition of the Saptasatīśāra (op. cit.), p. 6ff.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. R. PISCHEL, Grammatik der Prakrit Sprachen, paras 2, 12ff.; G. GARREZ, in JA 1872, part 20, p. 6; A. M. GHATAGE, Māhārāṣṭrī Language and Literature, in Journ. of the Univ. of Bombay (1936) 4, p. 6; K. SITARAMAYYA, Gāthāsaptasatī and Māhārāṣṭrī Prākṛta, in Summaries of Papers of the XII All India Or. Conference 1, p. 71–3; A. N. UPADHYE (op. cit.), p. 15–6. About Telugu words in the Sattasaī see T. RAMACANDRA, in Summaries of Papers of the XXVI Intern. Congr. of Orientalists, p. 203–4.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. A. WEBER, op. cit., AKM 5, 3, p. 13–70.

<sup>37</sup> Some of the Prākṛit lyrics passed later into Apabhraṃśa. Cf. R. PISCHEL, Materialien zur Kenntniss der Apabhraṃśa, AGGW, N.F. 5, p. 4, Berlin 1902; H. JACOBI, Sanatkumāracaritam, Introduction, p. XVIIIff. and M. WINTERNITZ, GIL III, p. 104.

<sup>38</sup> V. V. MIRASHI, The Date of Gāthāsaptasatī, in Siddha Bhārati, VI Series 2, p. 173ff. and IHQ 23, 4, p. 300–10; A. B. KEITH, HSL 224, who came to this conclusion on the basis of linguistic grounds. Cf. also R. G. BHANDARKAR'S

Hāla, concisely, depicted the life and the character of the villagers of Mahārāṣṭra with all their virtues and vices, their family life, their religious and social customs, including marriages and other ceremonies peculiar to the various castes. He gave a frank and often sensuous description of their sex-life and sex-relations, and he also described the land on which they lived, with its rivers, valleys, mountains, vegetations and fauna.

The *gāthā-s*, intended to be sung, contain poetry of the highest type. They are written in poetical language, and not necessarily in the language of the common people. Each *gāthā* forms a unity in itself and only in some cases two or three *gāthā-s* are combined to constitute a song. Not infrequently a *gāthā* forms an epigram or an aphorism expressing a certain truth in a few words and only rarely a *gāthā* contains well-rounded narrative verses borrowed from another poem or drama. The following saying is an example of Hāla's aphorisms:

"If one of two beings who grew up together in joy and pain and who loved each other for a long time, dies—this one lives, and the other one is dead" (142).

The verses, as Hāla himself stated in the third verse of the Sattaī, were compiled from different sources and probably only the 430 verses common to all versions formed the nucleus of the original collection. Part of these verses were probably culled by Hāla from different poems with the addition of a great number of verses composed by himself<sup>39</sup>. Some of the commentators on the Sattasāī, of which there are fourteen from all over India, ascribed a great number of verses to different authors who lived until the eighth century A. D.<sup>40</sup>. Bhuvanapāla's commentary on Sattasāī alone<sup>41</sup> quoted 389 authors including Hāla himself, but the manuscripts of the Sattasāī differ from each other in ascribing different verses to different authors<sup>42</sup>. In the eleventh century the popularity of Hāla's work<sup>43</sup> inspired Govardhana to imitate Hāla's *gāthā-s* in Sanskrit *āryā* verses. He arranged them alphabetically and he called his work the *Āryā-*

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Commemoration Volume, p. 189ff.; H. LÜDERS, Bruchstücke Buddhistischer Dramen, p. 64; H. JACOB, Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Māhārāṣṭrī, p. XIVff.

<sup>39</sup> A. B. KEITH (HSL) is of the opinion that "it is possible, even probable, that in its origin the Sattasāī was no mere anthology, but a careful collection of verses largely his own or refashioned by himself—much as Burns refashioned some of his material—on the basis of older verses, and that in the course of time by interpolation and change the collection lost much of its individuality". Cf. S. V. SOHONI, Two Verses from Hāla's Gāthasaptasāti in JOIB, 19, p. 342-348 and idem, Verse No. 355 in Gāthasaptasāti in BORS 54, 165-167.

<sup>40</sup> V. V. MIRASHI (op. cit.), p. 181.

<sup>41</sup> A. WEBER, Über Bhuvanapāla's Commentar (op. cit.).

<sup>42</sup> A. WEBER expressed the opinion that the ascriptions are unreliable. R. PISCHEL (op. cit.) para 13 thought that the names show that a very rich Prākṛit literature existed before Hāla's times.

<sup>43</sup> Already Bāṇa in the beginning of the 7<sup>th</sup> century A. D. in his Harṣacarita (1, 13) paid high tribute to Hāla (i.e. Sātavāhana). Cf. A. WEBER (op. cit., AKM 5, p. 3) and his "songs like jewels".

saptaśatī<sup>44</sup>. Although he wanted to surpass Hāla's fame by composing some 700 verses with erotic themes, his rendering is inferior to Hāla's *gāthā-s* in poetical skill. Bihārīlāl (or Vihārīlāl) composed his Sat'sai in Hindī, basing himself on Hāla's work and Paramānanda wrote his Śṛṅgāra-saptaśatikā modelling it on Bahārīlāl's poem. On the model of Govardhana's Āryāsaptaśatī were composed<sup>45</sup> Gopinātha Miśra's Gopinātha-saptaśatī, Mādhava Bhaṭṭa's Āryāsaptaśatī, Śrī Giradhara Sharma's Gāthā-Saptaśatī, Śaivala Kavīśvara's Sundarī Saptaśatī and Viśveśvara's of Almora<sup>46</sup> Āryāsaptaśatī. Most of them are poor imitations of Hāla's work.

Another early Prākṛit anthology is the Vajjālagga<sup>47</sup> (or Vajjālaggā, Vijjālaggaṃ, Bhajjālaggaṃ, Vidyālayam<sup>48</sup>) by Jayavallabha (Jayavallaha), a Śvetāmbara Jain<sup>49</sup> with a Sanskrit *chāyā* by Ratnadeva from the year 1393<sup>50</sup>. It was prepared at the instance of Dharmacandra, a pupil of Haribhadrasūri, who succeeded as high priest the Pṛthu Gaccha of Mānabhadrasūri.

The work is known to exist in two recensions; in both recensions it contains 1344 verses (692 + 652), of which only 449 are common to both recensions and 389 to all (6) the manuscripts<sup>51</sup>. In the Laber's edition the anthology contains 795 verses (all in *gāthā* metre, including 5 introductory and 3 closing verses). The work is divided into 95 *vajjā-s* (Skt. *vrajyā-s* or *paddhati-s*) according to the three *puruṣārtha-s* (*dharma*, *artha* and *kāma*), as was implicitly confirmed by the compiler (in *gāthā* 4). However, only one third of the verses are gnostic and relate to *dharma* and *artha* while the rest is erotic in nature, sometimes with a double meaning even conterminous with pornography<sup>52</sup>. The verses are not ascribed to individual authors. The work is an anthology *par excellence* as is clearly stated in verse 3<sup>53</sup>. The verses were not all written by Jain poets and by

<sup>44</sup> He stated in verse 52 that he adapted in Sanskrit the style and poetry previously current in Prākṛit only.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. A. NĀHATĀ, Sanskrit kī Saptaśatī Saptaka, in Saptasindhu (Patiala) (1966), 13, 2, p. 1-3 and S. N. DASGUPTA and S. K. DE, HSL, p. 371 and 659.

<sup>46</sup> Son of Lakṣmīdhara from the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>47</sup> Edited critically on the basis of 8 MSS. in two different recensions by J. LABER, in Bibl. Ind. (work 227), 1914-44, and in Prakrit Text Series no. 14, Ahmedabad 1969 (by M. V. Patwardhan with the Ratnadeva Commentary). First 203 *gāthā-s* were edited by N. A. GORE, in Continental Prakashan<sup>5</sup>, Poona 1956. Cf. Bhandarkar IV Report 1883-84, p. 17 and 234ff.; J. LABER, Über das Vajjālaggaṃ des Jayavallabha, Inaugural-Dissertation der Univ. zu Bonn, Leipzig 1913. See also H. JACOBI, Grammatik . . . (op. cit.), paras 12 and 14 and Vajjālaggaṃ, a Prakṛita Poetical Work on Rhetorics with Sanskrit version, ed. by J. LABER, in Bibl. Indica (work 281).

<sup>48</sup> In Sanskrit it is also called Prākṛit Padyālaya.

<sup>49</sup> As stated by Ratnadeva.

<sup>50</sup> Probably Vikrama era, though not so stated = 1336/37 A. D.

<sup>51</sup> The MS. described by D. R. BHANDARKAR belongs to the shorter version which contains 704 verses dealing with 48 subjects; originally the anthology was intended to be composed of 700 verses (it is so stated in one of the closing verses: *sattasayosamatto*).

<sup>52</sup> *Vajjā-s* 50-56 and 61; verses included in these *vajjā-s* do not fit a Jaina work.

<sup>53</sup> "Verses composed by various poets".

poets who belonged to Mahārāṣṭra<sup>54</sup>. The Vajjālagga was influenced by Hāla's Sattasaī and is also written in Mahārāṣṭrī<sup>55</sup>. Some of the verses repeat the generally accepted tenets in poetical form, of which the following verse is an example:

"One knows the road of the planets (on the firmament) and the conduct of the gods (in the sky); one knows the movement of the stars and the course of the movables and unmovables; one knows the behaviour of all (and everything) but not of women" (668).

The date of the composition of the Vajjālagga is unknown but it cannot have been composed much later than Hāla's Sattasaī<sup>56</sup>.

We find some common verses<sup>57</sup> in the Sattasaī and in the Vajjālagga<sup>58</sup>, as well as in a newly discovered Prākṛit *subhāṣita-saṃgraha*, the Chappaṇṇaya Gāhā<sup>59</sup>. Like Hāla (called Sālāhaṇa)<sup>60</sup> and Pālitaya the Kuvalayamālā<sup>61</sup> of Uddyotanasūri (778 or 779 A. D.) refers to Chappaṇṇaya who does not seem to be an individual author, but a community of outstanding poets also known by the name of Vidagdhas<sup>62</sup>. This was probably a group of 56 poets (*ṣaṭprajāna*) whose stray verses have survived in a *subhāṣita-saṃgraha* by the name of Setu<sup>63</sup>. When this anthology lost its importance, some verses of it were incorporated in Hāla's Sattasaī.

The Chappaṇṇaya-gāhā (or the Gāthakośa or Chappaṇṇaya) contains 164 *gāthā-s* in Jaina Mahārāṣṭrī with some verses in Apabhraṃśa. The original work was probably shorter and several verses were added later. This anthology is not divided according to *puruṣārtha-s* but some topics are grouped together. None of the verses are ascribed to individual authors<sup>64</sup>.

<sup>54</sup> Cf. H. JACOBI, in Introduction to Bhavisatta Kaha.

<sup>55</sup> Cf. J. LABER, Über das ... (op. cit.), p. 9ff. For signs of Apabhraṃśa forms see J. LABER, p. 27.

<sup>56</sup> Hāla is mentioned in verse 468; some of Jayavallabha's verses are found in the Gaudavaho (ca. 750 A. D.) and in the Kāvyaaprakāśa (ca. 1100 A. D.); therefore the dates between 750 and 1337 A. D. (the date of Ratnadeva's commentary) are the probable dates of the composition of this anthology.

<sup>57</sup> The wording is not always identical.

<sup>58</sup> According to J. LABER—76 verses; according to M. V. PATWARDHAN—82 verses.

<sup>59</sup> More common verses are in this work and in the Vajjālaggam as in the Sattasaī.

<sup>60</sup> V. V. MIRASHI, Some Ancient Prākṛit Poets, in Bhāratīya Vidyā 10 (1949), p. 43ff.

<sup>61</sup> Edited by A. N. UPADHYE, in SJS 45, Bombay 1959, p. 3, lines 18 and 25 and p. 177, line 2.

<sup>62</sup> Cf. Saptasatisāra with Bhāvadīpika of Vema Bhūpāla along with the Chappaṇṇaya Gāhā, ed. by A. N. UPADHYE, Shivaji University Sanskrit and Prakrit Series III, Kolhapur 1970.

<sup>63</sup> Different from the Setubandha ascribed to Pravaraśena; cf. V. V. MIRASHI (op. cit.), p. 47.

<sup>64</sup> Edited with Sanskrit *chāyā* by A. N. UPADHYE (op. cit.).

The first genuine Sanskrit *subhāṣita-saṃgraha*, probably from the eleventh or twelfth century A. D. (1130), is Vidyākara's Subhāṣita-ratna-koṣa<sup>65</sup>. A fragment of this *subhāṣita-saṃgraha* was published as the Kavindravacanasa-muccaya on the basis of a fragmentary palm-leaf manuscript in 1912 in the Bibl. Ind. (no. 1309) by F. W. Thomas. In the preface to his work F. W. Thomas wrote that "it is not very likely that a second manuscript will ever be found to make good the deficiencies". The Subhāṣitaratnakōṣa however (which incorporated the Kavindravacanasa-muccaya) was edited on the basis of two manuscripts: a palm-leaf code from the Ngor monastery in Central Tibet, a comparatively modern paper manuscript of Khatmandu, and on the basis of F. W. Thomas' edition of the Kavindravacanasa-muccaya. The first manuscript contains 1000 verses, the later 1728 verses and the Kavindravacanasa-muccaya 525 verses.

The Subhāṣitaratnakōṣa which contains 1739 *subhāṣita-s* is divided into fifty sections—*vrajjā-s*, of which the first six are devoted to different deities. The seventh deals with the sun, a lesser deity, the eighth to thirteenth with different seasons, the fourteenth to twenty-sixth with various aspects of love, the twenty-seventh to thirty-first with description of day and night and the remaining *vrajjā-s* deal with miscellaneous items. In this *subhāṣita-saṃgraha* very little space is devoted to *nūti*. Most of the verses are descriptive *subhāṣita-s*. The Subhāṣitaratnakōṣa quotes 223 authors and works, some of which are unknown,

<sup>65</sup> The Subhāṣita-ratna-koṣa compiled by V. VIDYĀKARA. Ed. by D. D. KOSAMBI and V. V. GOKHALE, in HOS 42, Cambridge, Mass., 1957; translated by DANIEL H. H. INGALLS (An Anthology of Sanskrit Court Poetry. Vidyākara's "Subhāṣitaratnakōṣa"), in HOS 44, Cambridge, Mass., 1965; contains an excellent introduction on Sanskrit poetry and Sanskrit poetics, sources of Vidyākara's work, etc. Each section of the translation contains a useful preface; it also contains alternative readings, emendations, notes to each verse, corrections, an index of Sanskrit metres, of authors and subjects. A more popular edition of the same work appeared as Sanskrit Poetry from Vidyākara's Treasury, Cambridge, Mass., 1970. Cf. also V. RAGHAVAN, A new Sanskrit Anthology, in Islamic Review, London, 65, p. 1-2; p. 19-21; book-reviews in JRAS (1959) 172 and (1966) 78; in JAS (Calcutta), Yearbook 1959 (II, 1), p. 80-1 and 7 (1963), p. 107; in ABORI 38, p. 309-12; in IJ 10, 1; p. 74; in VIJ 3, p. 2; 319; in Critique (1965), p. 222; in JAOS 78, p. 316. KRISHNA SARMA, A Note on two Verses of the Subhāṣita-ratnakōṣa in Śrī Veṅkaṭeśvara University Oriental Journal 2, 1-2; p. 82-84; S. K. DE, Some Passages from the Kavindravacanasa-muccaya in IHQ 30, 3; p. 282-284. Oriental Studies in India, by R. N. DANDEKAR, Delhi 1964, p. 17, etc. Cf. JRAS (1971), p. 78-84.

L. RENOU in his L'Inde classique, II, p. 230 mentions also among anthologies the Kavindracandrodaya from the 17th century; however, this short poem in verse and in prose is not an anthology but a tribute to Emperor Shah Jahan by 69 contemporary *paṇḍits* compiled by (Kavindra) Kṛṣṇa, librarian of Kavindrācārya (ed. by H. D. SHARMA and M. M. PATKAR in Poona Or. Series 60). Cf. Introduction to this edition; V. RAGHAVAN in Indian Culture (1940), p. 164; H. D. SHARMA in Kuppasvami Śāstri Commemoration Volume, p. 53-60 and P. K. GODE, Bernier and Kavindrācārya Sarasvatī at the Mogul Court in Annals of the S. V. Or. Institute, Tirupati, 1.4, p. 1-16.

e.g. the following verse ascribed to an obscure author Kavimalla who described the dawn in the following words:

“These stars which circulate in heaven’s centre may be reckoned / as handfuls of shells cast quickly on the board / by gamblers as their anger rises; / and the moon, his brilliance now decreasing, / takes on the colour of a fine round piece of chalk / placed by its side” (957)<sup>66</sup>.

Another text, which also contains a part of the Subhāṣitaratnakoṣa, is an imitation of this anthology. It is called Prasanna-sāhitya-ratnākara of Nandana and dates from the 15th century. The unpublished anthology is divided into *vrajyās-s* and, though incomplete, contains 1428 verses<sup>67</sup>.

Another old *subhāṣita-saṃgraha*, compiled in 1205 A. D. in Bengal, is the Saduktikarṇāmrta or Sūktikarṇāmrta of Śrīdharadāsa<sup>68</sup>. It contains many verses which we also find in the Subhāṣitaratnakoṣa, and also many verses of Bengali poets, since both—Śrīdharadāsa and his father Vaṭudāsa—were in the service of king Lakṣmaṇasena of Bengal.

The Saduktikarṇāmrta is divided into 5 *pravāha-s* (“streams”) while each *pravāha* is subdivided into *vīci-s* (“waves”) and each *vīci* contains five verses. Since there are 476 *pravāha-s*, there should be 2380 verses, but because several verses were omitted the actual number of verses in this anthology, which contains mostly descriptive *subhāṣita-s*, amounts to 2370 and the number of authors quoted to 485. Some of the authors are unknown from any other source, e.g. the following verses describing a happily married woman and ascribed to Śukṣoka:

“Ear ornaments are not necessary; decorating the neck is unsuitable for the feelings; bright collyrium on the eyes is necessary in small quantity only. Dear one, even a hasty powdering of the face has not been done! You are endowed by nature by all the decorations of a happily married woman” (1383).

<sup>66</sup> D. H. H. INGALLS’s translation.

<sup>67</sup> Cf. HOS 42, p. XXII–XXIII.

<sup>68</sup> The Saduktikarṇāmrta was edited three times. The first edition by MM. PT. RĀMĀVATĀRA ŚĀRMĀ, in the Bibl. Ind. 217 (1912–21) is incomplete (only two fascicles appeared); this is a critical partial edition. The second edition also by the same *pandit* with a critical introduction in English by Dr. HAR DUTT ŚĀRMĀ and in Sanskrit by Pt. PADMA SINGH ŚĀRMĀ appeared in the Punjab Sanskrit Series, vol. 15 (Lahore 1933). It is not a critical edition and is often faulty and its value is limited; it is based on one MS., although some others could have been available to the editor; it does not contain a critical apparatus. A new and more critical edition by S. C. BANERJĪ, containing, however, a number of errors, appeared in 1965; it was published by Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay in Calcutta. (Cf. L. STERNBACH’s review in JAOS 90, 2, p. 352ff.). Cf. also S. K. DE, Bengal’s Contribution to Sanskrit Literature, reprinted in Indian Studies Past and Present, 1, 4, p. 639–41; R. MITRA, Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts, III, no. 1180; TH. AUFRECHT, in ZDMG 36 (1882), p. 361 and 599; R. PISCHEL, Hofdichter des Lakṣmaṇasena, Göttingen 1893; M. CHAKRAVARTI, Pravaṇadūtam of Dhoyika, JASB (1905), p. 41–71; JASB (1906), p. 157–76 and IHQ 3, p. 188.



From the thirteenth century (1258 A. D.) also dates the *Sūktimuktāvalī* of Bhagadatta Jalhaṇa (or Jahlaṇa)<sup>69</sup>. The author was the son of Lakṣmidhara and he worked in Southern India for the Yādava king Kṛṣṇa who came to the throne in 1247. The anthology is divided into 133 *paddhati-s*, contains 2790 verses and quotes 240 authors and works. Among the latter there are also other *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* otherwise unknown, such as the *Sūktiratnahāra* and the *Sūktisahasra*.

The *Sūktimuktāvalī* exists in two versions—a small and a large one. The first sections of the anthology contain useful information about poets and poetry and the other sections deal with happiness, charity, fate, wickedness, wisdom, separation, union, misfortune, love, service to the king, etc. Verses quoted in this anthology are both ethical and descriptive. One of the descriptive verses of an otherwise unknown poet, Mādhavamāgadha, reads:

“The hips of the deer-eyed damsels were concealed by the silk dress and the bosom (which being not consumed grew in size) by the jacket; but the waist became thin as it was gazed at frequently by the glances of the lovers” (185, 38).

One of the best known *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* is the *Śārṅgadharma-paddhati*<sup>70</sup>. It is said that it was compiled by Śārṅgadharma, son of Dāmodara and grandson of Rāghava, the Rājaguru of Hammirabhūpati of Śakambhari in 1363 A. D. Some scholars drew attention to a *praśasti* (verses 2–6) where Śārṅgadharma was called the son of Dāmodara and the grandson of Rāghavadeva who lived at the court of Hammira, the Cāhuvāṇa (Chauhān) king of Śākhabhari. If by this is meant Hammira who reigned from 1262–1301 A. D., whose fame was sung in the *Hammirakāvya* and who was a great patron of scholars, then the date of 1363 seems to be conceivable for his grandson<sup>71</sup>. The *Śārṅgadharma-paddhati* is divided into 163 sections (*paddhati-s*) today containing only 4689 ethical and

<sup>69</sup> Edited with an introduction in Sanskrit by EMBAR KṚṢṆAMĀCĀRYA, in GOS 82. Also see Descriptive Catalogue, Madras, Govt. Or. Library XX, p. 1109; R. G. BHANDARKAR's Report for 1887–91 (p. I–LIV); P. PETERSON, JBRAS 17 (1887), p. 57ff.; P. K. GODE, in Studies in Indian Cultural History I, p. 147 and II, p. 149ff.; cf. DC XX, p. 12140–1.

<sup>70</sup> The only edition of the *Śārṅgadharapaddhati* was published in BSS 37, Bombay 1888 (The Paddhati of Śārṅgara. A Sanskrit Anthology published by PETER PETERSON). Only Vol. I of this anthology appeared; Vol. II which was supposed to contain an introduction, various readings and notes unfortunately never appeared. This is not a critical edition though based on six MSS. TH. AUFRECHT also edited 264 verses quoted in six other MSS. on which or on some of which he based his study (Über die Paddhati von Śārṅgadharma, in ZDMG 27, p. 1–100). Cf. O. BÖHTLINGK, in ZDMG 27, p. 626–628; TH. AUFRECHT, in ZMDG 28, p. 156–157; M. WINTERNITZ, The Śārṅgadharma-paddhati in PO 1, 2; p. 22–26. See also L. STERNBACH, On the Authorship of some Stanzas of the Śārṅgadharma-paddhati, in Rajasthan University Studies, Vol. I, p. 8–30.

<sup>71</sup> M. WINTERNITZ, HIL III, fasc. 1 (transl. by Miss H. KOHN), University of Calcutta, 1959, p. 176. Cf. A. D. PUSALKAR, Śārṅgadharma-paddhati and Bṛhat-Śārṅgadharma-paddhati, in Prof. P. K. GODE Commemoration Volume, III, p. 157ff.; F. HALL, Vāsavadattā (Bibl. Ind.), Introduction, p. 48; Kr. p. 386; Sir WOLESLEY

descriptive verses. Originally the anthology probably contained 6300 verses, since in verse 56 (2, 44) the total number of verses is given as amounting to that number. The Śārṅgadhara-paddhati is unlike other Sanskrit anthologies as it does not merely contain a selection of verses about poets, poetry, women and love, *dharma*, *artha*, *kāma*, etc.<sup>72</sup>, but as it also deals with different subject matters which are usually not included in anthologies of “beautiful verses”. Here we find, in particular, practical advice, such as about different kinds of horses, gardening, omens and portents, swords, etc.<sup>73</sup>. However, the main part of this anthology contains maxims and descriptive verses, some of which do not occur in other sources. The work also quotes verses by other unknown authors, e.g. Govindarājadeva:

“Let these flashes of lightning look upon me again and again; let those repeated shrieks of peacocks tear my head mercilessly; let the cruel god of Love strike me repeatedly with his featherly arrows; for you have gone faraway, O beloved with your fleeting glances” (3457).

H. D. Sharma and J. B. Chaudhuri<sup>74</sup> have analysed the authorities quoted in this anthology. According to H. D. Sharma 282 authors, and according to J. B. Chaudhuri 271 authors and 31 works, are quoted there. Several verses have a double authorship and two verses have more than a double authorship. Śārṅgadhara, who was also a poet himself, but of no high standing, often quotes the names of poets and works, but sometimes he attributes verses to “somebody”.

Almost identical with the Śārṅgadhara-paddhati is the Bṛhacchārṅgadhara-paddhati (i. e. Bṛhat-Śārṅgadhara-paddhati)<sup>75</sup>. This anthology can be considered to be an inflated version of the Śārṅgadhara-paddhati. It is divided into 588 *prakaraṇa-s* (473 of which also occur in the Śārṅgadhara-paddhati) and it contains 7586 verses, ten of which are in Prakrit. It is a comparatively late work (eighteenth century), since it contains extracts of the Āsvadhāṭi-kāvya written by Jagannātha Paṇḍita who was the court poet of king Sarfoji of Tanjore. 66 verses<sup>76</sup> were omitted in this anthology from the Śārṅgadhara-paddhati and 2963 were added. In the additional verses names of authors are rarely mentioned. The greatest part of the new verses (255) occur after verse 1171.

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HAIG, in Cambridge History of India, III, p. 516. See also Indian Antiquary 8 (1879), p. 55ff. where N. J. KIRTANE considered that Hammira's reign lasted from 1283 to 1301.

<sup>72</sup> Cf. J. B. CHAUDHURI, *Padyāṃṭa-taraṅgiṇī* by Haribhāskara, Calcutta 1941, p. CXII-CXCIV.

<sup>73</sup> Cf. above p. 5.

<sup>74</sup> H. D. SHARMA, *An Analysis of Authorities quoted in the Śārṅgadhara-paddhati*, in ABORI 18 (1937), p. 77-84.

<sup>75</sup> Publ. in Benares, samvat 1931 (1875 A. D.). Cf. A. D. PUSALKAR, op. cit.

<sup>76</sup> 13-56, 78, 91, 95, 145, 499, 790, 1479-80, 1540, 1852, 1917 b, 1918, 2120, 2217, 2699, 2753, 2901 ab, 3484, 3748, 3806, 3959, 4101, 4179.

Very interesting, though poorly edited on the basis of one manuscript, is the South Indian anthology called the Sūktiratnahāra of Sūrya Kalingarāja<sup>77</sup>; this authorship is contested however<sup>78</sup>. In the form in which it is available today it was probably compiled in the first half of the fourteenth century<sup>79</sup>. It contains 2327 mostly ethical verses and is divided into four *parvan-s* and each *parvan* is divided into *padhati-s*. This is probably the oldest Sanskrit *subhāṣita-saṃgraha* in which each *parvan* deals with one of the four *puṛuṣārtha-s*<sup>80</sup>. According to the editor of this anthology, the Sūktiratnahāra is “an ornament” to the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series. This is not an exaggeration: the work is very valuable, particularly because it quotes authors and works not mentioned in most of the other anthologies, e.g. verses from the Kauṭīliya Arthaśāstra, Nīti-dviṣaṣṭikā, the Vyāsasubhāṣita-saṃgraha, or such authors as Pratāparudra, Ravigupta, etc.<sup>81</sup>. It quotes 81 works and 57 authors, but the ascriptions are often wrong<sup>82</sup>. In this anthology we also find authors not quoted in other *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s*, but some of their names seem to be either wrong or incomplete, e.g. verses ascribed to Rājaga who was supposed to be the author of the following verse that has not been cited anywhere else:

“People disregard a king, though born of a royal race, if he is not brave (in battle); in the same way people disregard a ruby not cut and not polished or an elephant that is not in rut” (64, 2).

In 1968 Dr. K. Krishnamoorthy published a new anthology called Subhāṣitasudhānīdhi by Sāyaṇa<sup>83</sup> which he placed in the fourteenth century A. D., since it contains a eulogy of Kaṃpaṇa who most likely died in 1355 A. D. Dr. K. Krishnamoorthy ends his “Introduction” with the statement that among the later writers who are much indebted to this work, Sūrya Paṇḍita, author of the Subhāṣitaratnahāra<sup>84</sup> deserves to be mentioned in the first place.

<sup>77</sup> The Sūktiratnahāra, TSS, p. CXLI; Śrī Citrodayamañjarī, ed. by K. SĀMBAŚIVA ŚĀSTRĪ, Trivandrum 1938. The work is not only poorly edited but contains also several lacunae; it was possible however to reconstruct a great number of lost parts of *subhāṣita-s* included in this anthology (L. STERNBACH, On the Reconstruction of some Verses or their Parts of the Sūktiratnahāra in ABORI 53, p. 127–60).

<sup>78</sup> V. RAGHAVAN, in Journal of Oriental Research, Madras, 13, p. 293–306. Cf. A. S. RAMANATHA AIYER, in Summaries of Papers, III All-India Or. Conference, p. 115–29, as discussing the authorship of the Sūktiratnahāra.

<sup>79</sup> Cf. S. N. DASGUPTA, S. K. DE, HSL, p. 414; cf. V. RAGHAVAN (op. cit.), p. 305.

<sup>80</sup> Prior to it Prākṛit *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* were so divided.

<sup>81</sup> Cf. L. STERNBACH, Quotations from the Kauṭīliya-Arthaśāstra, in JAOS 88, 3, p. 495–520 and 88, 4, p. 717–727; paras 4–5 and 1–31; The Vyāsa-subhāṣita-saṃgraha, critically edited . . . by L. STERNBACH, Kāśī Sanskrit Series no. 193; Introduction, paras 6, 8, 12 and Appendices I and II; L. STERNBACH, Ravigupta and his Gnostic Verses, in ABORI 48, p. 137–160; L. STERNBACH, An Additional Note on Sundarapāṇḍya's Nītidviṣaṣṭikā, in JGJRI 25, p. 333–365.

<sup>82</sup> E.g. ascriptions to the Mahābhārata, the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mānava-dharmaśāstra, etc. See above.

<sup>83</sup> Karnatak University, Dharwar 1968.

<sup>84</sup> Instead of Sūktiratnahāra published in TSS.

It is possible that these two works, i.e. Sāyaṇa's Subhāṣitanidhi and the Sūktiratnahāra, are one and the same work, of which the Sūktiratnahāra (but not in its printed text) is original while the Subhāṣitasudhānidhi is either a copy of the Sūktiratnahāra with various additions and omissions or another version of the same text<sup>85</sup>. Both works are from the first half of the fourteenth century<sup>86</sup> and its author may well be Sāyaṇa, since it is unlikely that Sūrya Kaliṅgarāja, i.e. the *Asādharaṇa Mantrin* of king Kuḷaśekhara (a subordinate of the Paṇḍya king Māravarman Kuḷaśekhara I, who reigned between 1268 and 1308) could have been the actual compiler of this anthology. It was probably ascribed to him only *in majorem gloriam*.

The arrangement of the two anthologies is identical; both are divided into four *parvan-s* dealing with *dharma*, *artha*, *kāma* and *mokṣa* and each *parvan* into *paddhati-s*. The *paddhati-s* are almost identical (i.e. their titles and contents, although the order of the verses is different) and both include the same *subhāṣita-s* with some exceptions. Particularly the contents of the two longest *parvan-s*, i.e. the *artha-* and *dharma-parvan-s* are similar.

That the texts of the Subhāṣitasudhānidhi and the Sūktiratnahāra are identical and that the compiler of the Subhāṣitasudhānidhi did not chose the material independently from primary sources but from the Sūktiratnahāra is particularly evident from the fact that, if differing readings occur in the primary source and in the Subhāṣitasudhānidhi, the readings adopted in the latter anthology follow the text of the Sūktiratnahāra and not the original source<sup>87</sup>, and also from the fact that both contain several identical verses composed in six and not four *pāda-s*. This is rather a rare occurrence since, as a rule, *subhāṣita-s* are composed in four *pāda* verses. The Sūktiratnahāra seems to be more complete than the Subhāṣitasudhānidhi. In the Sūktiratnahāra we find ascriptions to primary sources in most of the verses, while we do not find them in the Subhāṣitasudhānidhi and when they occur they seem to be recopied from the Sūktiratnahāra.

An anthology that is probably older than the Sūktiratnahāra and the Subhāṣitasudhānidhi is the Vyāsasubhāṣitasamgraha<sup>88</sup>. Most of the verses of this anthology are quoted in the Sūktiratnahāra where they are often attributed to

<sup>85</sup> L. STERNBACH, Sāyaṇa's Subhāṣita-sudhānidhi and Sūryapaṇḍita's Sūktiratnahāra, in Gaṅganātha Jha Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha, formerly JGJRI 27, p. 166-260.

<sup>86</sup> Cf. SĀYAṆA'S Subhāṣita-sudhānidhi, p. 2ff.; S. N. DASGUPTA and S. K. DE, HSL, p. 414; Dr. V. RAGHAVAN, in JOR (Madras, op. cit.), 13, p. 293-306.

<sup>87</sup> The readings of the Subhāṣitasudhānidhi 4, 23, 57, 84, 85, 88, 91, 117, 118, 125, 127, (130), 132, 133, 138, 139, 142, 148, 167, 182, 188, 193, (195), 202, 205, 208, 210, 212, 217, 232 and 233 are identical with the readings of the Sūktiratnahāra, while the primary sources have different readings.

<sup>88</sup> Vyāsasubhāṣita-samgraha. Critically edited for the first time by L. STERNBACH, Kāśī Sanskrit Series 193. The Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, Varanasi 1969. The edition is based on two MSS. of unknown date as primary sources, and the Ceylonese Vyāsakāraya and the Sūktiratnahāra as ancillary sources.

Vyāsaśataka. The anthology contains 98 verses in the main text and 12 in the footnotes. The verses are almost exclusively sententious sayings. None of the verses is attributed to any poet. Most of them also appear in other *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* and some of them are real jewels of epigrammatical diction, e.g. the following verse which also appears in the Sūktiratnahāra (where it is ascribed to Pratāparudra):

“Zeal, though it appears to be hostile, is like a friend; indolence, though it assumes the stature of a friend, is an enemy; learning, though it appears to be impallatable like poison, is nectar; (and) women, though they are poison, are pleasing like nectar” (85).

This *subhāṣita-saṃgraha* was also well known in Ceylon and Siam<sup>89</sup>.

Of another type is the Nītimañjarī of Dyā Dviveda<sup>90</sup>, son of Lakṣmīdhara and Lakṣmī and grandson of Atri of the house of Mukunda. It is a collection of 164 to 166 current gnostic and didactic verses, moral maxims or proverbs illustrated by Vedic legends and Vedic texts; it was completed in *saṃvat* 1550 (= 1494 A. D.). The moral teachings begin with some ethical maxims followed by the commentary, the Vedic *ṛcas* and finally by the exegesis of these *ṛcas*. Although all ethical maxims are versified, commented upon and elucidated by the explanation of the Vedic passages, they are quite independent of each another, the Vedic references embedded in them following the order of the divisional system of the Ṛgveda. Consequently, the verses are distributed among the 8 *aṣṭaka-s* of the Ṛgveda. The verses fall under the four *puruṣārtha-s*, of which 44 deal with *dharma*, 68 with *artha*, 53 with *kāma* and only 1 with *mokṣa*. For the interpretation of the Vedic passages Dyā Dviveda used Sāyaṇa's commentary on the Ṛgveda. He also mentions the Mānava-dharmaśāstra, the Yājñavalkya-smṛti, the Mahābhārata, the Bhagavadgītā, the Hitopadeśa and Kṣemendra's Cārucaryā; the latter seems to be the model for the Nītimañjarī. Twenty-three didactic parts of the verses quoted in the Nītimañjarī are identical with

<sup>89</sup> The Ceylonese Vyāsakāraya. In the 20th century it was brought from Ceylon during the reign of king Rāma III and printed with a Siamese translation by H. R. H. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab (B. E. 2464, i.e. 1920 A. D.). The Siamese transcription of the text was made with the help of a brahmin Mukupusvāmi (?) and Luāng P'hirivanakorn. This work was distributed at the cremation ceremony of Amart Tri P'hra Turupark-Pichorn in 1920. Cf. L. STERNBACH, On the Sanskrit Nīti-literature of Ceylon, p. 3. An Additional Note on the Vyāsakāraya in Brāhma-vidyā 35. 3-4; p. 258-269 and idem, On the Vyāsasubhāṣitasamgraha in Prof. E. Szuszkiewicz Congratulatory Volume, Warszawa 1974.

<sup>90</sup> Nītimañjarī of Dyā Dviveda. Ed. with an Introduction, notes and appendices by SĪTARĀM JAYARĀM JOŚI and publ. by ŚĀLIGRAM ŚARMA, Benares 1933. Cf. Introduction and Foreword to this edition; P. PETERSON, Report 1883-4, p. 8; A. B. KEITH, The Nītimañjarī of Dyā Dviveda, in JRAS (1900), p. 127-135 and 796-8; F. KIELHORN, in Indian Antiquary (1876), p. 116ff. and in Nachrichten von der kön. Ges. der Wiss., Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Klasse (1891), p. 182ff.; A. A. MACDONELL, Introduction to Bṛhaddevatā, Vol. I, p. XVIIff.; SĪTARĀM J. JOSHI, Śrī Dyā Dviveda; his Place in Sanskrit Literature in PO 3, 3; pp. 131-141; and E. SIEG, Die Sagenstoffe des Ṛgveda, Stuttgart 1902, p. 37ff.

the Cārucaryā (or are clearly based on this work) and two with the Hitopadeśa. The author wanted to utilize as many well-known moral teachings as he could, in order to illustrate them with Vedic examples, while reflecting upon the morals to be derived from the *ṛcas* of the R̥gveda.

Another type of *subhāṣita-saṃgraha* is represented by the Purāṇārthasaṃgraha. Of southern origin and unknown date, it is a digest of knowledge of all branches of learning, as included in some purāṇa-s, dharmasāstra-s, darśana-s, etc. compiled by Veṅkaṭarāya<sup>91</sup> and preserved in several South Indian manuscripts. The work is written in *purāṇic* style as a conversation between Lakṣmī and Nārāyaṇa. It is divided into 30 chapters of which only the eleventh was edited. It deals with *nīti* and *rājanīti*, and contains 136 verses. Each epigram is proclaimed in the first part of the verse and then illustrated with an episode from the purāṇa, itihāsa, etc. The verses are often paraphrases of the original *subhāṣita-s*.

A very well-known *subhāṣita-saṃgraha* is Vallabhadeva's Subhāṣitāvalī<sup>92</sup>. We do not know much about the author and the question of its dating gave rise to long discussions<sup>93</sup>. It is generally accepted, however, that this anthology, in the form in which it is available today, can not have been compiled

<sup>91</sup> The Purāṇārthasaṃgraha of Veṅkaṭarāya. Ed. by V. RAGHAVAN, in Purāṇa (Varanasi) 5, 1, p. 47-60 and 7, 2, p. 370-89.

<sup>92</sup> The Subhāṣitāvalī (-vali) of Vallabhadeva. Ed. by PETER PETERSON and PT. DURGAPRASĀDA, son of Pt. Vrajalāla, BSS 31, Bombay 1886. It was edited on the basis of two MSS. This edition is superior to the edition of the same editor of the Śārṅgadharma-paddhati, since it contains a learned preface (139 pages) and critical notes which are lacking in the Śārṅgadharma edition (see review articles by G. M. C. and by G. BÜHLER with a note by J. F. FLEET in IA (1886), p. 239-242). Specimens of the text and translation were also edited by P. PETERSON, in Actes du 6<sup>e</sup> Congrès International des Orientalistes . . . 1883 à Leide, troisième partie, sect. 2, p. 339-465. Cf. also TH. AUFRECHT, Miscellen, in Indische Studien 17, p. 169ff.; S. K. DE, in Padyāvalī, p. CVIIIff.; P. PETERSON, Report 1882-83, p. 30ff.; older collection than printed cf. HC VII, no. 4537; C. CAPPELLER, Zu Vallabhadeva's Subhāṣitāvalī, in Album Kern, p. 239-44; M. RAMAKRISHNA KAVI, MSs of Subhāṣitāvalī of Vallabhadeva in Journal of Śrī Veṅkaṭeśvara Oriental Institute, 2, 2; p. 375-398; P. PETERSON, Pāṇini, Poet and Grammarian with some Remarks on the Age of Sanskrit Classical Poetry, JRAS (1891), p. 311-36; TH. AUFRECHT, Zwei Pāṇini zugetheilte Strophen, in ZDMG 14, p. 81ff.; L. STERNBACH, De l'origine des vers cités dans le Nīti-paddhati du Subhāṣitāvalī de Vallabhadeva, in Mélanges L. Renou, p. 683-714. See also book reviews of the Subhāṣitāvalī by A. BARTH in Revue critique d'histoire et de littérature (1887), no. 22, p. 421-31 and by G. BÜHLER in Indian Antiquary 15, p. 240ff.

<sup>93</sup> S. K. DE, On the Date of the Subhāṣitāvalī, JRAS (1927), p. 471ff.; idem, Aspects of Sanskrit Literature, p. 150-6; A. B. KEITH, The Date of Subhāṣitāvalī, in BSOS 5, 3, p. 27ff.; S. K. DE, Sarvānanda and Vallabhadeva, in BSOS 5, 3, p. 499ff.; (also S. K. DE, Aspects . . . op. cit., p. 157-61). The discussion is based on the fact that a verse from the Subhāṣitāvalī was quoted by Sarvānanda in the commentary on the Amarakośa which he wrote in 1106. See also D. S. BHATTACHARYA, Date of the Subhāṣitāvalī, in JRAS (1927), p. 471ff. and (1928), p. 135ff., 403 and 900 and SUBODH CH. BANERJEE, On the Date of the Tīkāsarvasva by Sarvānandadeva, in JRAS (1928), p. 900.

earlier than the 15th century<sup>94</sup>. It is an extensive anthology on a large variety of topics usually found in most Sanskrit anthologies. It contains 3527 verses that are of both ethical and descriptive character. The anthology is divided into 101 *paddhati*-s. According to the analysis made by P. Peterson it quotes some 360 poets<sup>95</sup>. In addition to stray verses of several poets, which are real jewels of Sanskrit *kāvya*, Vallabhadeva quoted parts of different works, such as Maṅkha's Śrīkaṇṭhacarita, Śambhu's Rājendrakarṇapūra and others. In the Subhāṣitāvalī we find many verses of otherwise unknown authors, as for instance :

"The man whose soul is soiled with hope of a return considers carefully to whom he gives. The tender-hearted man is satisfied to know that there is need and eagerly gives to the poor" (3020, ascribed to Aśvadeva);

or

"When a bad man uses feigned words of kindness to gain his object by deceit, it is not so that the good man is deceived by it, but that it is not in the good man's to make the courtesy shown to him of none effect" (2711, ascribed to Bhadan-tārogya)<sup>96</sup>.

Many other beautiful verses of unknown authors are also quoted in this anthology.

It was believed that the Subhāṣitāvalī of Śrīvara is associated with this *subhāṣita-saṃgraha*. Śrīvara lived in the latter part of the 15th century and was the disciple of Jonarāja. However, it was proved that this Subhāṣitāvalī is another text of Vallabhadeva's Subhāṣitāvalī with a few additional verses, some of which ascribe this anthology to Śrīvara<sup>97</sup>.

Mention is also made of a Subhāṣitāvalī of Ācārya Sakalakīrti who was a Jain. The anthology is said to be written in *saṃvat* 1938 (1880 A. D.) at Śra-vaṇa Belagola (DC XX, 12139).

The Padyāvalī of Rūpa Gosvāmin dates from the end of the 15th and the first half of the 16th century. He was the son of Kumāra and the disciple of Caitanya (the founder of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism), teacher and exponent of its doctrines<sup>98</sup>. The Padyāvalī is rather a devotional work than a *subhāṣita-saṃgraha* as far as its contents are concerned. It also quotes other poetical devotional works, such as 32 *stotra*-s, among which the Ujjvala-nīlmaṇi, and it contains 387 verses ascribed to 129 authors, as well as to Rūpa Gosvāmin himself. Due to

<sup>94</sup> Cf. M. WINTERNITZ, HSL III, 1 (op. cit.), p. 179ff. If we accept that date, than the argument adduced by S. N. DASGUPTA and S. K. DE in HSL (p. 414) that Jalha-ṇa's Sūktimuktāvalī based his anthology on the Subhāṣitāvalī of Vallabhadeva must be wrong.

<sup>95</sup> They were mentioned in the Subhāṣitāvalī edition.

<sup>96</sup> P. PETERSON's translation.

<sup>97</sup> MS. BORI 204 of 1875-1876. Cf. J. CHAUDHURI, The Subhāṣitāvalī of Śrīvara, in Indian Culture 12, 3, p. 130-9 and cf. S. CH. BANERJI, Cultural Heritage of Kashmir, Sanskrit Pustak Bhandar, Calcutta, p. 101-2.

<sup>98</sup> The Padyāvalī. An Anthology of Vaiṣṇava Verses in Sanskrit compiled by RŪPA GOŚVĀMIN, a Disciple of Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-Caitanya of Bengal, critically edited by S. K. DE, Dacca University, Oriental Publication Series no. 3, University of Dacca, 1934.

their devotional character, most of the verses were usually not quoted in other anthologies with the exception of Harikavi's Subhāṣitāhārāvalī, an anthology from the middle of the 17th century which borrowed 36 verses<sup>99</sup> from the work of Rūpa Gosvāmin. The latter also quoted other earlier non-Viṣṇuite authors and sometimes changed the wording unscrupulously to make them sound Viṣṇuite. Several verses in this anthology were attributed to otherwise unknown authors, as for instance this verse which was attributed to Sārvabhauma-bhaṭṭācārya:

"The waves of music from the flute of Kṛṣṇa made with an undescribable skill of art and a wave of sweetness of the wine in the mouths of the divine damsels make my mind tremulous (and melt my heart)".

The anonymous Subhāṣitamuktāvalī<sup>100</sup> probably dates from the end of the 16th and the beginning of the 17th century. It must have been compiled before 1623, since one of the manuscripts is dated *saṃvat* 1680 (1623 A. D.)<sup>101</sup>. The anthology is divided into 32 *muktāmaṇi-s* (ornaments of pearls) and contains 624 verses including the appendices. None of the verses is attributed to any poet or work. The verses are both ethical and descriptive. The anthology is important for it contains many sayings not quoted in other *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s*; it was, however, possible to identify in it a great number of verses<sup>102</sup>. One of the aphorisms not quoted elsewhere reads:

"The lotus-feet of the mother is a holy place of pilgrimage not far off; penance without torture of the body; and a (holy) bath without water" (31, 5).

Most of the other *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* were compiled between the 17th and 19th century. Among those particularly two anthologies are important, viz. by Harihara and (or) Hārāvalī. The first anthology is the Sūktimuktāvalī and the second the Subhāṣitāhārāvalī. They were not written by the same person.

The Sūkti-muktāvalī of Harihara was compiled by a Mithilā brahmin in the first half of the 17th century. This anthology was published twice: in 1889 (second ed. in 1910) in the KM Series no. 86 and in 1949 by Ramanathan Jhā in the Newspapers and Publications Ltd. Patna respectively. The latter is a

<sup>99</sup> Cf. book-review of the Padyāvalī by HAR DUTT SHARMA, in ABORI 17, p. 305 ff. and by K. N. MITTER in Indian Culture 2, 2, p. 382-383.

<sup>100</sup> Subhāṣitamuktāvalī, ed by R. N. DANDEKAR, University of Poona reprinted in book-form from the Journal of the University of Poona, Humanities Section 1962. Edited on the basis of 2 MSS. from the Bhandarkar Or. Res. Institute's Collection no. 819 of 1886-92 and no. 75 of 1871-72. The edition contains an Introduction, the text, five appendices, of which the fourth is a copy of a short *kāvya*-work entitled Navaratna; it must have been a very popular poem, since it was also well known in Ceylon. Cf. H. BECHERT, Sanskrit-Texte aus Ceylon, I. Teil, in Münchener Studien für Sprachwissenschaft . . ., München 1962, p. 25-7 and it was also *in extenso* included in the Subhāṣitāhārāvalī.

<sup>101</sup> Cf. P. K. GODE, Date of the Subhāṣitamuktāvalī, in IHQ 22, p. 55-9; G. V. DEVASTHALI, Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prakṛta MSS., Bombay University Library, II, p. 272, erroneously ascribed to the Subhāṣitāhārāvalī.

<sup>102</sup> L. STERNBACH, On the Authorship of some Stanzas of the Subhāṣitamuktāvalī, in Journ. of the Univ. of Poona, Humanities Section, no. 19, p. 37-65.



critical edition and is based on five manuscripts and contains 634 verses. Unlike other *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* its verses are not *subhāṣita-s* composed by different authors but they are mostly composed by Harihara himself and only very few are known *subhāṣita-s* belonging to the floating mass of oral tradition. The work is divided into 12 *prakaraṇa-s* which deal with gods and goddesses, the upbringing of a child, advice to the young, staying abroad, the eulogy of the king and the treatment of royalty, *rājanīti*, six seasons, erotics and *nāyaka-s*, miscellanea and tranquillity of mind. Being a one man *subhāṣita-saṃgraha*, this work stands nearer to individual collections of *subhāṣita-s*, such as Bhartṛhari's Śatakas, than to the *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* described above. The language of Harikavi is inferior to that of Bhartṛhari and most other poets. One of his erotic *subhāṣita-s* not found elsewhere reads:

"When the limbs are stretched, pain results in the nail-marks of her pot-like breast; there are yawns in the mouth and the lip is sore by the teeth-bites. When moving the thighs are painful at the rows of nail-marks. Thus the injuries inflicted on her during the night are more painful in the morning" (9, 41).

The Subhāṣita-hārāvali of Śrī Harikavi<sup>103</sup> is an anthology of ethical and descriptive verses *par excellence*, though it also contains some excellent verses composed by Harikavi himself<sup>104</sup>. Harikavi, the compiler of this anthology, was the son of Nārāyaṇa, originally a Deccani brahmin who first lived in Surat and then at the court of king Sambhāji. He composed his work in the second half of the 17th century. It is unlikely that he was contemporary to Akbar (1556-1605) or identical with Akbariya Kālidāsa<sup>105</sup>. Unfortunately the work was never published although it is one of the best and most interesting *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s*. It contains numerous ascriptions to different poets some of which are well known. Harikavi knew the Padyāvali of Rūpa Gosvāmin. This anthology is only known in one manuscript in the Bhandarkar Or. Research Institute (no. 92 of 1883-89) which is composed of several pieces. Some parts of the manuscript were written by different scribes and overlap each other. The numbering of the verses is irregular and at many places verses are not numbered at all. A great number of *subhāṣita-s* also occur in other *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* where they are usually ascribed to the same poets as in this anthology. This work requires a critical edition in the nearest future. One of the *subhāṣita-s* representative of this anthology reads:

<sup>103</sup> It was sometimes wrongly considered as identical with the Sūktimuktāvali.

<sup>104</sup> And his brother Cakrapāṇi.

<sup>105</sup> See P. K. GODE, Harikavi alias Bhānubhaṭṭa, a Court-poet of king Sambhāji and his Works, in ABORI 16, p. 262-91. P. K. Gode identified Harikavi as the author of the Subhāṣitahārāvali, the Sambhurājācarita and the Haihayendracarita; he also proved that Harikavi was also called Bhānubhaṭṭa. Cf. also P. PETERSON, Second Report for 1883-84, in JBBRAS 17, p. 57-64; H. SHARMA, The Subhāṣita-hārāvali, in IHQ (1934), p. 478ff.; Kr. p. 367; New Indian Antiquary 3 (1940), p. 81-100; L. STERNBACH, On the Subhāṣitahārāvali and on the Sūktisahasra, in JGJRI 28. 3-4, pp. 101-147; L. STERNBACH, Subhāṣita-s of the Subhāṣitahārāvali of Harikavi in Rājasthan University Studies 1974 and book-review of the Padyāvali (op. cit.).

"In this worthless painful world the only worthwhile thing is a deer-eyed damsel with pleasing unfeigned love and with graceful movements" (1593).

The same remark applies to the Śṛṅgārālāpa Subhāṣita-muktāvalī, which is the largest anthology on love and is devoted to *śṛṅgāra* alone. This anthology is divided into 11 chapters of which the end of the 10th and the beginning of the 11th are incomplete (fol. 77 is missing); each complete chapter contains from 101 to 109 mostly descriptive verses. Manuscript no. 92 of 1883-84 in the Bhandarkar Or. Res. Institute containing this anthology was written by Yājñika Rāma in *saṃvat* 1612 (1556 A.D.). It is probably an authographic copy and its compiler seems to be identical with Kulīna Rāma who also lived in the middle of the sixteenth century. The anthology is well written and contains many verses that are not found in other anthologies. Its characteristic feature is the inclusion of extracts, sometimes long, from well-known works, e.g. the Meghadūta (in chapter 8), Kumārasambhava (in chapters 7 and 8), Bhartṛhari's epigrams (Northern version) (in chapters 7 and 8), Rudraṭa's Śṛṅgārātilaka, etc. The anthology usually does not contain ascriptions to poets (except occasionally and before quoting the *subhāṣita-s*). Several verses were quoted in the edition of Bhartṛhari's epigrams published by D. D. Kosambi and in the Subhāṣitaratnaśoṣa edition. The basic thought of this anthology is the following: men lose all interest in life without *śṛṅgāra* and *śṛṅgāra*, being holy, leads to pleasure and prosperity<sup>106</sup>.

Less interesting are two unpublished manuscripts, no. 361 of 1884-86 and 527 of 1887-91 in the Bhandarkar Or. Res. Institute containing an anthology of verses by Maṇirāma entitled Śloka-saṃgraha. It comprises 1606 mostly descriptive verses, many of which are ascribed to different authors and works (110 in number) including Maṇirāma himself. Many of the *subhāṣita-s* quoted in this anthology can also be found in the D. D. Kosambi's edition of Bhartṛhari's epigrams and in the Subhāṣitaratnaśoṣa edition. The anthology was compiled in the second half of the 17th century. Maṇirāma is probably identical with Maṇirāma Dikṣita, the author of the Śṛṅgārasaṅjivani who was the protégé of Mahārāja Anūp Singhji of Bikaner<sup>107</sup>. According to others he was the court poet of Rāja Toḍar Mal.

The Budhabhūṣaṇa is ascribed to king Śambhu or Sambhāji, son of Shivāji the Great<sup>108</sup>. However, king Sambhāji was not a man of letters and it is unlikely that he himself was its author and if so, he was certainly helped by some *paṇḍits*. The anthology contains 882 mostly ethical verses and is divided into

<sup>106</sup> Cf. P. K. GODE, Śṛṅgārālāpa, A Big Anthology of Śṛṅgāra Verses by Rāma and its rare MS. dated 1556 A.D., in Journal of the University of Bombay, Vol. 15, Pt. 2, p. 81-8. See also P. K. GODE's book-review of L. STERNBACH's Gaṇikā-vṛtta-saṃgraha, in ABORI 35, p. 245.

<sup>107</sup> Cf. P. K. GODE, A Rare MS. of the Śloka-saṃgraha Anthology by Maṇirāma and the Date of its Composition, in Rājasthān Bhāratī, I, 1, p. 35-43.

<sup>108</sup> The Budhabhūṣaṇa of King Śambhu. Ed. with an Introduction, Notes, etc. by H. D. VELANKAR, Govt. Or. Series, Class C, no. II, Bhandarkar Or. Res. Institute, Poona 1926.

three sections. The first (194 verses) contains *subhāṣita-s* quoted from several well-known authors, the second (630 verses) deals mostly with *artha* and contains quotations from the Kāmandakiya Nitisāra, the Matsya-purāṇa, the Viṣṇudharmottara, the Mahābhārata, the Yājñavalkya-smṛti, the Mānavadharmaśāstra, etc. and the third section (58 verses) deals with information useful to princes and is therefore called *miśraṇāṭiprakaraṇa*.

The following works also date from the 17th century:

The Padyaracanā of Lakṣmaṇa Bhaṭṭa Āṅkolakara<sup>109</sup>, an anthology of stray stanzas divided into 15 *vyāpāra* and containing 769 ethical and descriptive verses as well as *anyokti-s*. Many of these are ascribed to different poets, usually of later date, and they also occur in several other *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s*, but many of the *subhāṣita-s* were composed by the author himself (150 are usually attributed to Lakṣmaṇa). The anthology was written between 1625 and 1650.<sup>110</sup> It contains some *subhāṣita-s* in Prākṛit. The language of many verses is poor.

The Rasikajivana of Gadādhara Bhaṭṭa who was the son of Gauripati Bhaṭṭa from Mithilā<sup>111</sup>. It was described as a work of *rasa* which also bears the character of an anthology<sup>112</sup> but is a *subhāṣita-saṃgraha par excellence*. The anthology is divided into ten *prabandha-s* and contains 1478 ethical and descriptive verses. Many of these verses are ascribed to different poets (139); 935 are anonymous<sup>113</sup>—many of the verses appear in other *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s*.

<sup>109</sup> The Padyaracanā of Lakṣmaṇa Bhaṭṭa Āṅkolakara, ed. by PT. KEDĀRANĀTHA and WĀSUDEVA LAKṢMAṆA ŚĀSTRĪ PAṆAŚĪKAR, KM 89.

<sup>110</sup> Cf. P. K. GODE, in Journal of Oriental Research (Madras) 15 (1940), p. 184–193.

<sup>111</sup> The Rasika Jivana of Gadādhara Bhaṭṭa. Critically edited for the first time ... by Dr. JATINDRA BIMAL CHAUDHURI, in Prācyavaṇī Mandira Saṃskṛta-Granthamālā, Sanskrit Text Series II, Calcutta 1944. There also exists a complete edition of this anthology, but without indication of its editor and place and date of publication. Also several verses (from the beginning of the anthology) were critically edited and translated by P. REGNAUD (Stances sanskrites inédites, par P. REGNAUD, in Annuaire de la Faculté des Lettres de Lyon, Paris 1884. Cf. P. K. GODE, Rasikajivana of Gadādhara Bhaṭṭa and its probable date, in ABORI 12, p. 396–9). The first mentioned edition quotes *in extenso* only 109 verses, viz. 2, 4, 5, 15, 33, 34, 36, 37, 44–9, 56, 72, 74, 75, 77, 78, 81, 111, 120, 125, 131, 164, 165, 205–6, 218, 233, 346, 350, 393, 428, 506, 552, 572, 615, 655, 703, 782, 784–5, 790, 796, 799, 800, 804–5, 812, 847, 852, 855, 856, 857, 858, 861, 864, 868, 871–2, 874–81, 886 (incomplete), 889, 897, 898, 901, 903–5, 926, 930, 965, 970, 971, 974, 994, 1011, 1013, 1028–9, 1032–3, 1039, 1052, 1098, 1100, 1102–3, 1109, 1124, 1189, 1196, 1314, 1392–3, 1398–1400, 1465 and 1477 and 8 verses in MS. B; they do not occur in other sources.

<sup>112</sup> Cf. S. K. DE, Sanskrit Poetics, Vol. I, p. 291.

<sup>113</sup> P. K. GODE, Rasikajivana and its Probable Date, in ABORI 12, p. 396–9. P. K. GODE and H. D. SHARMA expressed the opinion that the Rasikajivana must have been composed after 1650 (probably around 1660), V. V. RAGHAVACHARYA however expressed the opinion (Some further Light on the Date of the Gadādhara Bhaṭṭa and the Rasikajivana, in Summaries of Papers of the XI All-India Oriental Conference, Hyderabad, p. 92) that the work is of a much later date, viz. from the second quarter of the 18th century, since the author mentions Ghanaśyāma, a minister of king Tukṛājī Maharāja of Tanjore who ruled from 1728 to 1735.

The Sabhyālaṃkaraṇa of Govindajit<sup>114</sup> is somewhat composed on the lines of the Rasikajivana. Its author, Govinadaji (Sanskritized into Govindajit) of the Mevaḍa caste of Medapaṭa, was the son of Caku from Giripura. The anthology was published on the basis of a very poor manuscript, full of mistakes<sup>115</sup>. Therefore the text needed many emendations and is still far from faultless. The anthology contains 853 ethical and descriptive verses and is divided into numerous sections called *marīci-s* (rays). It quotes 101 authors and works; many verses are well-known *subhāṣita-s*. The anthology was composed after 1656, since it quotes the Cimanīśataka written in that year<sup>116</sup>.

The Padyaveṇi of Veṇidatta, son of Jogajjivena, grandson of Nilakaṇṭha belonging to the Yājñika family<sup>117</sup>, is divided into six *taraṅga-s*. The work contains 889 mostly descriptive verses many of which are ascribed to different poets (114). Several of these poets are probably contemporaneous to Veṇidatta who himself wrote many of the *subhāṣita-s* quoted in the anthology (230); he was not a great poet and most of the verses written by him and included in the anthology are of no great value. According to Th. Aufrecht this anthology was composed in 1644 and according to Rajendralāl Mitra in 1701<sup>118</sup>.

The Padyāmṛta-taraṅgiṇi of Haribhāskara, the son of Āpājinanda (or Ājājibhaṭṭa) of the Kaśyapa gotra and belonging to the family of Agnihota<sup>119</sup>, contains 301 mostly descriptive verses. The majority of the verses are attributed to 45 different poets and 11 different works; it was compiled in 1673. Hāribhāskara's son, Jayarāma, wrote a commentary on this anthology<sup>120</sup>.

The Sūktisundara of Sundaradeva written between 1644 A. D. and 1710 A. D.<sup>121</sup>, contains only 174 mostly descriptive verses. Many of the verses in-

<sup>114</sup> Sabhyālaṃkaraṇa of Govindajit. Ed. . . . by Dr. JATINDRA BIMAL CHAUDHURI, in *Prācyavāṇi Gopal Chunder Law Memorial Sanskrit Series* no. 4, Samskṛta-koṣa-kāvya-saṃgraha, V, Calcutta 1947.

<sup>115</sup> MS. no. 417 of 1884-87, in BORI.

<sup>116</sup> Cf. P. K. GODE, *Date of Sabhyālaṃkaraṇa, an Anthology by Govindajit*, in *New Indian Antiquary* 4, 11, p. 366-9; R. G. BHANDARAKAR, *Report 1887-91*, p. LXII-LXIII (cf. *ABORI* 12, p. 396).

<sup>117</sup> The Padyaveṇi of Veṇidatta. Ed. by JATINDRA BIMAL CHAUDHURI, in *Prācyavāṇi Mandira. Samskṛta-granthamālā*, I. Samskṛta-koṣa-kāvya-saṃgraha, Vol. III, Calcutta 1944.

<sup>118</sup> Cf. R. G. BHANDARAKAR, *Report 1887-91*, p. LX-LXI.

<sup>119</sup> Padyāmṛta-Taraṅgiṇi by Haribhāskara. Ed. . . . by Dr. JATINDRA BIMAL CHAUDHURI, *Series* no. 4, Samskṛta-koṣa-kāvya-saṃgraha, I, *Series* no. IV, Calcutta 1941.

<sup>120</sup> Cf. Introduction; TH. AUFRECHT, *Über die Padyāmṛtatarāṅgiṇi*, *ZDMG* 37, p. 544-7; R. G. BHANDARAKAR, *Report 1887-91*, p. LXII. P. K. GODE, *The Date of the Padyāmṛtatarāṅgiṇi of Bhāskara*, in *Calcutta Oriental Journal* 3, 2, p. 33-5.

<sup>121</sup> Sūkti-sundara by Sundaradeva. Ed. . . . by JATINDRA BIMAL CHAUDHURI, *Series* no. 4, Samskṛta-koṣa-kāvya-saṃgraha, III, Calcutta 1943. H. D. SHARMA, *Sūktisundara of Sundaradeva*, in *Calcutta Oriental Journal* 3, 5; cf. P. K. GODE, *Notes on Indian Chronology*, III, in *PO* 1, 2, p. 52-5 and idem, *Studies in Indian Literary History*, II (SJS 38).

cluded in this anthology praise Muhammadan rulers, viz. Akbār, Shah Jahān, etc. Sundaradeva must have been familiar with the conditions existing at the courts of some of these rulers. A great number of *subhāṣita-s* quoted in this anthology also appear in the Padyaveni of Veṇidatta and in the Padyāmṛta-taraṅgiṇi; it quotes 32 poets.

The Anyoktimuktāvali of Hamsavijayagaṇi<sup>122</sup> is an anthology of Jainistic character; it was written in 1679. It is divided into 8 *pariccheda-s* and contains 1199 verses, mostly *anyokti-s*, often quoted in other *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s*<sup>123</sup>.

The Śrīsūktāvali<sup>124</sup>, of unknown date and by an unknown author, was edited on the basis of a single manuscript<sup>125</sup>. It is divided into 14 *paddhati-s* plus a closing chapter and the 12th *paddhati* is subdivided into six parts and the 13th *paddhati* into two parts. The anthology contains 192 mostly ethical verses and none of them is ascribed to any poet or work. The manuscript on which the edition is based is full of mistakes and the edition is poor and contains many errors.

Of the later *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* two are outstanding, viz. the Padyataraṅgiṇi of Vrajanātha and the Vidyākara-sahasraka.

The Padyataraṅgiṇi of Vrajanātha, who lived at the court of king Mādhava, son of Jayasiṅg, in the middle of the 18th century (1753), exists in two versions: a longer version in twelve *taraṅga-s* preserved in 4 manuscripts and a shorter version in ten *taraṅga-s* preserved in 2 manuscripts. All the manuscripts of the longer version are incomplete, but the shorter version is completely preserved in all the manuscripts. The shorter version was analysed by N. A. Gore and his analysis was published in the Poona Orientalist<sup>126</sup>. It shows that the anthology contains 489 mostly descriptive verses and that most of these verses also occur in other *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* and that they are well known. Many of them are from the Hitopadeśa, the Pañcatantra, Bhartṛhari's epigrams, Cāṇakya's collections of verses etc.

The Vidyākara-sahasraka of Vidyākaramiśra<sup>127</sup> was compiled in Mithilā in the middle of the 19th century. It contains 999 mostly descriptive verses, most

<sup>122</sup> The Anyoktimuktāvali of Hamsavijayagaṇi. Ed. by Pt. KEDĀRNĀTHA, son of Mm. Pt. Durgāprasāda and Wāsudeva Lakṣmaṇa Śāstri Paṇaśikar, in KM 88.

<sup>123</sup> Cf. GUÉRINOT, in JA 10, t. 14, p. 47ff., no 1106.

<sup>124</sup> Śrīsūktāvali, Codice Indiano edito dal Dre E. BARTOLI, Napoli, Tipografia della R. Università, Achille Cimmaruta, 1911; P.-E. PAVOLINI, Collana delle belle sentenze (Sūktāvali, in GSAI 20, p. 1-16); cf. TH. AUFRECHT, Florentine Sanskrit MSS., Leipzig 1892, no. 92.

<sup>125</sup> From the Biblioteca Centrale di Firenze, no. 92.

<sup>126</sup> The Padyataraṅgiṇi of Vrajanātha. An Analysis and an Index, in Poona Orientalist 9, p. 45-56, by N. A. GORE; N. A. GORE, Two Versions of the Padyataraṅgiṇi of Vrajanātha, in Dr. Kunhan Raja Commemoration Volume, p. 423-7; and P. K. GODE, The Āśvamedha performed by Sevai Jayasing of Amber, in PO 2, p. 160ff.

<sup>127</sup> Vidyākara-sahasrakam. Anthology of Sanskrit Verses by Vidyākara Miśra. Ed. by UMESHA MISHRA, Allahabad University Publications Sanskrit Series, II, Allahabad 1942.

of which are attributed to poets, known or unknown and the latter are usually from Mithilā. Many readings of the *subhāṣita-s* are corrupt. The language of many verses is poor and sometimes mixed with Prākṛit.

During the second half of the 19th and in the 20th century India was inundated by modern *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s*, many of which were edited as textbooks of Sanskrit to be used at schools, and also to preserve “ancient thoughts” and “ancient moral teachings”. The most complete and carefully edited is the *Subhāṣita-ratna-bhāṇḍāgāra* by Nārāyaṇa Rāma Ācārya “Kāvya-tīrtha”<sup>128</sup> which was published in several editions; the eighth and last of which was published in 1952. It was based on an earlier work of the same compiler called *Subhāṣita-sudhā-ratna-bhāṇḍāgāra*<sup>129</sup> which was published in the Veṅkaṭeśvara Steam Press, Bombay, *saṃvat* 1985 (1927). The latter *subhāṣita-saṃgraha* contains also beautiful descriptive and lyric verses omitted in the *Subhāṣita-ratna-bhāṇḍāgāra*. The latter work quotes the best *subhāṣita-s* from *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* published earlier, as well as from primary sources. The later editions of this anthology also include most of the verses quoted in the second edition of Böhtlingk’s *Indische Sprüche*. It is the most complete modern *subhāṣita-saṃgraha*. Another modern *subhāṣita-saṃgraha* is the three volume work of Otto Böhtlingk, *Indische Sprüche*<sup>130</sup> which in its second edition<sup>131</sup> contains 7613 ethical and descriptive verses critically edited with notes and variants and with a German translation of each verse. Several supplements to this collection were published<sup>132</sup>. It was announced that the *Mahā-subhāṣita-saṃgraha*, a great collection of *subhāṣita-s* from the entire Sanskrit literature and critically edited

<sup>128</sup> *Subhāṣita-ratna-bhāṇḍāgāra* or Gems of Sanskrit Poetry being a Collection of Witty, Epigrammatic, Instructive and Descriptive Verses with their Sources. Enlarged and Re-edited with Sources, etc. by NĀRĀYAṆ RĀMA ĀCĀRYA “KĀVYA-TĪRTH”; 8th ed. Nirṇaya Sāgar Press, Bombay 1952.

<sup>129</sup> *Subhāṣita-sudhā-ratna-bhāṇḍāgāra* or Treasuries of Sanskrit Poetry being a Collection of Amusing, Sarcastic and Instructive Verses compiled and annotated by PT. ŚIVADATTAKAVIRATNA. Thoroughly Revised, Enlarged and Brought up to Date, Śrī Veṅkaṭeśvara Steam Press, Bombay, *saṃvat* 1985 (1927).

<sup>130</sup> *Indische Sprüche*. Sanskrit und Deutsch. Herausgegeben von OTTO BÖHTLINGK, St. Petersburg 1870–73 (Zweite Auflage).

<sup>131</sup> This edition unfortunately omits the very useful notes by A. SCHIEFNER which were published in the first edition.

<sup>132</sup> Erster und zweiter Nachtrag zu meinen Indischen Sprüchen, von O. BÖHTLINGK, in Bulletin de l’Académie des Sciences de St. Petersburg, XXI, p. 401–9 (= Mélanges Asiatiques, VII, p. 659–72) and XXIII, p. 401–32 (= Mélanges Asiatiques, VIII, p. 203–49); Zur Kritik und Erklärung verschiedener indischer Werke, von O. BÖHTLINGK, in Bulletin de l’Académie des Sciences de St. Petersburg, XXI, p. 93–132; 200–42 and 370–409 (= Mélanges Asiatiques, VII, p. 447–504; 527–89 and 615–59); AUGUST BLAU, Index zu Otto Böhtlingks Indischen Sprüchen, in AKM IX, p. 4, Leipzig 1893; TH. AUFRECHT, Bemerkungen zu Böhtlingks Indischen Sprüchen (zweite Auflage), in ZDMG 52, p. 255ff.; PT. DURGA PRASĀD, Böhtlingks Indische Sprüche, in JBBRAS XVI, p. 361ff.; L. STERNBACH, Supplement to O. Böhtlingks Indische Sprüche, AKM XXXVII, p. 1; idem, Revised Supplement to O. Böhtlingk’s Indische Sprüche I in Indologica Taurinensia II Torino 1974.

with comprehensive notes and English translation will appear in some 20 volumes; in this collection it is intended to publish some 50,000 to 60,000 ethical and descriptive verses<sup>133</sup>.

Some other less important *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* and collections of *subhāṣita-s*, *anyokti-s*, etc. (though they are not always *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s par excellence*) are in alphabetical order<sup>134</sup>: Anyāpadeśamālā of Śrīnivasachariar of Terinzhanpur<sup>135</sup> containing 127 *subhāṣita-s*. Anyoktimuktāvalī of Somanātha, a poet and musician, is a collection of *subhāṣita-s* in *anyapadeśa* style<sup>136</sup> and contains 102 verses mostly in Mālinī metre. Anyoktyaṣṭakasamgraha<sup>137</sup> is a collection of 123 *anyokti-s* in 17 *aṣṭaka-s* and most of the verses also occur in other collections of *anyokti-s* and *subhāṣita-s*. Anyoktistabaka of Vaṃśīdhara Miśra<sup>138</sup> contains 104 *anyokti-s*; the edition is based on a manuscript dated *saṃvat* 1727 (1671). Anyoktitarāṅgiṇī<sup>139</sup>, divided into two *śataka-s*; consequently it contains 200 *anyokti-s* plus a closing verse. Avaśiṣṭānyokti contains miscellaneous verses ascribed to Paṇḍitarāja Jagannātha<sup>140</sup>; it contains 588 verses mostly belonging to the floating mass of oral tradition or *subhāṣita-s* that are also found in other anthologies (only a small number of these verses was written by Paṇḍitarāja Jagannātha). Bahudarśana<sup>141</sup>, a *subhāṣita-saṃgraha* that has been extensively used by O. Böhtlingk in his Indische Sprüche. Dampatiśikṣānāmaka<sup>142</sup> is a short work in Beṅgālī with interwoven Sanskrit sayings, of which many are well known or currently quoted sayings (they were critically edited and included by O. Böhtlingk in his Indische Sprüche). “Ēkādaśadvāranibaddha upadeśaḥ”<sup>143</sup> was published on the basis of one manuscript

<sup>133</sup> By L. STERNBACH, to be published by the Viśveśvaranand Vedic Research Institute, Hoshiarpur and by Motilal Banarsidass (vol. I) and the rest by the Vishveshvaranand Vedic Research Institute; the first volume is in the press and is due to appear in 1974; nearly 9 volumes containing some 18,000 *subhāṣita-s* from *a* to *t* are with the publisher.

<sup>134</sup> See also: Anyāpadeśapaddhati (anonymous); Anyāpadeśapañcāśat of Guṇapatiśāstri; Anyāpadeśaśataka of Madhusūdana, of Ekanātha, of Jagannātha, of Gaṇapatiśāstri, of Gīrvānendra, of Ghanaśyāma and anonymous; Anyāpadeśaśataka of Nīlakaṇṭha Dikṣita; Anyoktikanṭhābharana of Candracūḍā; Anyoktikāvya; Anyoktimālā of Aceṭadikṣita and of Lakṣmīṃsiṃha; Anyoktimuktālatā of Śambhu; Anyoktimuktāvalī of Haṃsavijaya; Anyoktipariccheda; Anyoktisamgrahādhyāya of Harikṛṣṇa; Anyoktiśataka of Bhaṭṭa Vīreśvara, of Bhaṭṭavīra, of Darśanavijayaṇi and of Somanātha.

<sup>135</sup> Published in Kumbakonam 1932.

<sup>136</sup> Published on the basis of two MSS by Dr. V. RAGHAVAN, in his Malayamārutah, II, Tirupati 1971 (p. 49-78).

<sup>137</sup> Ed. by P. D. TRIVEDI; published in Bhāratīya Vidyā Series no. 11, Bombay 1946.

<sup>138</sup> Published Surat 1955.

<sup>139</sup> Published in Vārāṇasī n.d.

<sup>140</sup> Published in the Paṇḍitarāja-kāvya-saṃgraha, part 13, in Sanskrit Academy Series no. 2, Osmania University (p. 121-90).

<sup>141</sup> Published in Serampore 1826.

<sup>142</sup> Published in 1840.

<sup>143</sup> Published by V. RAGHAVAN, in his Malayamārutah, II, Tirupati 1971 (p. 96-107).

from the Bhandarkar Or. Res. Institute. The compilation contains 99 *subhāṣita-s* collected by an anonymous Jain *sādhu* and most of them are well-known *subhāṣita-s*. Kavitāmṛtakūpa of Gauramohana, “a choice collection of Sanskrit Couplets”<sup>144</sup> contains 106 verses, most of which were culled from primary sources, such as the Hitopadeśa, etc. Khaṇḍaprasasti, also called Hanumat’s Daśavatārakhaṇḍa<sup>145</sup>, contains 283 *subhāṣita-s* many of which also occur in various other anthologies, where they are usually attributed to Hanumat<sup>146</sup>. Laukikanyāyaśloka, a collection of 107 *subhāṣita-s*, has been arranged according to subject matter<sup>147</sup>: none of the *subhāṣita-s* quoted there appear in other anthologies; new subjects are introduced in *śloka-s* which are not *subhāṣita-s*. Narābharaṇa is a collection of 301 *subhāṣita-s*<sup>148</sup>, of which most are well known. Many of them are defective or contain lacunae, but reconstruction is often possible on the basis of other texts which contain the same *subhāṣita-s*. Nārojipāṇḍita’s Sūktimālikā is a collection of 238 verses divided into 8 main chapters (*paddhati-s*) of which the *nūti-*, *sujjana-*, *durjana-*, *sāmanya-* and *anyokti-paddhati-s* are the most important. None of the verses written mostly in *śloka-s* are attributed to any author. Many of the verses of this anthology do not occur in other *subhāṣita-samgraha-s*<sup>149</sup>. Nitisamgraha is a collection of 173 *subhāṣita-s*<sup>150</sup>, most of which are from Kṣemendra’s didactic poems, in particular, the Cārucaryā. Nitiśāstra is a short collection of *subhāṣita-s* with a translation into Tamil<sup>151</sup>. Nitiśāstra in Telugu is a short collection of Sanskrit *subhāṣita-s* printed in Telugu characters<sup>152</sup>, many of which are well-known *subhāṣita-s*. Padyamālā by Śrīharaśaṅkaramiśra<sup>153</sup> contains in some of its chapters a few usually well-known *subhāṣita-s*. Perunthogai was compiled by M. Raghava Ayyangar of Ramnad<sup>154</sup>, one of the largest collections of verses mostly in Tamil (2214 verses). It is divided into three sections: invocations to Viṣṇu, Śiva, Durgā, Buddha, Jina, etc. and *subhāṣita-s* on *dharma* and on *artha*. It does not only contain quotations from different known and less known literary

<sup>144</sup> First published with a translation in Bengālī by the Calcutta School-book Society’s Press, Calcutta 1828; for the second time published by V. RAGHAVAN, in his Malayamārutaḥ, I, Tirupati 1966 (p. 34–46) (both editions contain the same readings).

<sup>145</sup> Published in MS. form in Bombay, śaka 1782 (1860).

<sup>146</sup> E.g. Jalhara’s Sūktimuktāvalī, Subhāṣitahārāvalī.

<sup>147</sup> Ed. and translated by V. KRISHNAMACHARYA, in Adyar Pamphlet Series 34.

<sup>148</sup> Ed. on the basis of one defective MS. by V. RAGHAVAN, in his Malayamārutaḥ, I, Tirupati 1966 (p. 47–83); L. STERNBACH, On the Reconstruction of Some Verses of the Narābharaṇa in Prof. K. A. S. Iyer Felicitation Volume, Lucknow.

<sup>149</sup> Published serialim with a Tamil translation by N. S. DEVANĀTHĀCHĀRIAR in the Journal of Tanjore Sarasvatī Mahal Library 13. 1 to 15. 3 (1959–1961). The entire work appeared also in the T. M. S. S. M. Library, Tanjore Publications.

<sup>150</sup> Published in the Venkaṭeśvara Press, Bombay, *saṃvat* 1994 (1936).

<sup>151</sup> Published in Madras in 1922.

<sup>152</sup> Published in Madras in 1868.

<sup>153</sup> Published by Motilal Banarsidass in Vārāṇasī, *saṃvat* 2012 (1954).

<sup>154</sup> Published in Madurai in 1935/36.



works but also quotations from copper-plates, stone-inscriptions, introductory verses to the most important Tamil works, verses mentioned in commentaries and verses selected from manuscripts from the Madras Govt. Or. Library, Sarasvatī Mahal Library, Tanjore and Tamil Saṅgham Library, Tanjore. The compiler also provided most of the verses quoted with brief notes and an index of verses, and also with an index of the subject matters. Prasaṅgābharaṇa<sup>155</sup> is a collection of 185 *subhāṣita-s*, most of which are well known. Sadacāraśāstra<sup>156</sup> is a compilation of several *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s*, viz. the Viduranīti of the Mahābhārata (Bhandarkar ed.), extracts from the Śukranīti, extracts from all the versions of the so-called Cāṇakya's sayings (with the exception of the Cāṇakya-raja-nīti-śāstra version) as reconstructed by L. Sternbach, extracts from Bhartṛhari's *Śataka-s* and some *lokokti-s*. Samayocitapadya-(ratna)mālikā<sup>157</sup>, an in India very popular collection of mostly well-known and currently quoted wise sayings. Saṃskṛta-gadya-padya-saṃgraha of Śrībrhaspatiśāstri<sup>158</sup> contains a short section called Sūktisaṃgraha of 29 verses and Subhāṣitānī of 21 verses. Saṃskṛta Lokokti Prayoga of Haṃsarāja Agravāla<sup>159</sup> contains in its fourth part a *subhāṣita-saṃgraha* composed of 108 verses divided according to subject matters. Saṃskṛtapāṭhopakāra<sup>160</sup>, a Sanskrit textbook in Beṅgālī characters, contains, among other things, a number of well-known *subhāṣita-s*. Saṃskṛta-sūkti-saṃgraha was compiled by Satyavratasiṃha<sup>161</sup> and is a modern *subhāṣita-saṃgraha* containing verses mostly culled from the Rāmāyaṇa, Sanskrit dramas, etc. Saṃskṛta-sūkti-saṃgraha was edited by Rāmaji Upādhyāya<sup>162</sup>; it contains 1015 quotations from the whole Sanskrit literature under 40 titles, of which only a small part are *subhāṣita-s par excellence*. Saṃskṛta-sūkti-sāgara<sup>163</sup>, a comprehensive *subhāṣita-saṃgraha*, was compiled by Nārāyaṇasvāmī and is divided into a great number of subject matters of which each contains several *subhāṣita-s* quoted in alphabetical order (it does not contain a *pratīka-index*). Sarvasaṃgrahamāsika-pustakapaikīṃ-subhāṣitasāṃgraha<sup>164</sup> contains 598 verses plus 4 introductory verses. Śata-kāvalī<sup>165</sup> is a compilation of several other collections (Amaruśataka, Śānti-

<sup>155</sup> Published in Bombay in 1860; another edition without the name of the editor and date was probably also published in Bombay. See also A. WEBER, in ZDMG 19, p. 322.

<sup>156</sup> Published in the Vishveshvaranand Institute Publications, no. 246, Hosiarpur 1963.

<sup>157</sup> The best editions are by P. T. MĀTRIPRASĀDA PĀNDEYA, in Haridass Sanskrit Series no. 165 (in alphabetical order) and by GAṆGĀDHARA KRṢṆA, śaka 1879 (1957) (according to subject matters listed in alphabetical order).

<sup>158</sup> Published in the Haridass Sanskrit Series no. 243.

<sup>159</sup> Published in Ludhyānā, *saṃvat* 2012 (1954).

<sup>160</sup> Published in Calcutta, śaka 1761 (1839).

<sup>161</sup> Published in Lucknow, *saṃvat* 2019 (1961).

<sup>162</sup> Published in Gāndhī Viśvaraparīṣad, Dhāṇa, Sāgara in 1959.

<sup>163</sup> Published in Kāśī, *saṃvat* 2014 (1956).

<sup>164</sup> Part I published in Poona in 1878.

<sup>165</sup> Published in Beṅgālī characters in 1850.

śataka, Sūryaśataka, Bhartṛhari's *Śataka-s*, etc.). Somanāthaśataka of Somanātha<sup>166</sup>, a poet musician, contains 111 *subhāṣita-s* mostly in *Sragdharā* metre full of *śleṣa-s*. Śrī Padyāvalī<sup>167</sup> is a collection of 388 + 30 mostly well-known *subhāṣita-s* illustrating different metres (most of the *subhāṣita-s* are ascribed to different poets and works). Subhāṣita of Viṣṇuśāstri Cipaḷūnakar<sup>168</sup> contains 614 *subhāṣita-s*. Subhāṣitakaustubha<sup>169</sup> was compiled by S. Veṅkaṭādhvarin and contains 97 mostly original *subhāṣita-s* divided into 5 *paddhati-s* (of which the most interesting are the *sajjana-*, *durjana-*, and *vadānya-paddhati-s*). Subhāṣitamāṇi-kaṇṭha-hāra was compiled by B. S. M. Nāgalinga with a Telugu commentary<sup>170</sup>. Subhāṣita-mañjari<sup>171</sup>, compiled by S. S. Veṅkaṭarāma Śāstri is divided into two chapters of 100 *subhāṣita-s* each. Subhāṣita-puṣpa-makaranda was compiled by Mukunda Gaṇeśa Mirajakara with a Marāṭhī commentary<sup>172</sup>. Subhāṣita-ratnākara, a collection of witty and epigrammatic sayings in Sanskrit, compiled and edited with explanatory notes by Kṛṣṇaśāstri Bhāṭavaḍekar<sup>173</sup> is divided into 230 chapters dealing, as most *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s*, with a variety of subjects usually included there. The verses are not ascribed to any poets or works, but the compiler indicated in the *pratīka*-index, usually correctly, from where the *subhāṣita* was taken; he mentioned 54 poets and works. Among the latter he also included unknown *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* (such as the Prasaṅgaratnāvalī, Subhāṭaraṅga, Spṛuṭaśloka and Sūktisaṃgraha) and other works; O. Böhtlingk used this anthology in the Supplements to his Indische Sprüche. Subhāṣitaratnākara of Nārāyaṇa Prasāda Miśra with a Hindī translation was edited by Ananta Śāstri Ghagve<sup>174</sup>. Subhāṣitaratnakaraṇḍakathā of Āryaśūra<sup>175</sup>, edited from a single Nepālī manuscript, is divided into 27 *kathā-s* containing 2 to 43 verses teaching the various *pāramitā-s* (perfections). The work is ascribed to Āryaśūra, but its editor and the editor of the Jātakamālā (to which it is annexed) P. L. Vaidya believe that the author of this anthology is not the famous Āryaśūra<sup>176</sup>, but an author who lived later. This point of view was challenged by V. V. Mirashi<sup>177</sup>.

<sup>166</sup> Published by Dr. V. RAGHAVAN, in his Malayamārutaḥ, I, Tirupati 1966 (p. 84–112).

<sup>167</sup> Published in Mathurā in 1959.

<sup>168</sup> Published in Poona in 1915.

<sup>169</sup> Published in Coimbatore in 1914.

<sup>170</sup> Published in Madras in 1908.

<sup>171</sup> Published in Kumbakonam in 1921.

<sup>172</sup> Published in Poona in 1924.

<sup>173</sup> Published in Bombay in 1872; 4th ed. 1918. Cf. HC VII, 5455.

<sup>174</sup> Published in Bombay in 1914.

<sup>175</sup> Published as an appendix to the Jātakamālā of Āryaśūra (no. 21 of the Bauddha Saṃskṛta Granthāvalī, Darbhanga 1959).

<sup>176</sup> The author of the Jātakamālā.

<sup>177</sup> He considered that the author of the Jātakamālā was also the author of this anthology (V. V. MIRASHI, A Note on the Subhāṣitaratnakaraṇḍakakathā of Āryaśūra, in ALB 25, p. 304–7); cf. A. C. BANERJEE, Subhāṣitaratnakaraṇḍakakathā in IHQ 30.1.

This anthology belongs to the Buddhist literature and to Buddhist collections of moral sayings. Subhāṣita-ratnamālā, compiled by K. G. Cipaḷūṇakar<sup>178</sup>, is a comprehensive *subhāṣita-saṃgraha* designed as a text-book for students (several editions of this work have already appeared; Vol. I is divided into three parts of 100, 200 and 300 *subhāṣita-s* and Vol. II is divided into two parts of 400 and 750 *subhāṣita-s*). Subhāṣita-ratnamālā<sup>179</sup> or a Garland of the Gems of Sanskrit Poetry is an anthology consisting of about 3000 verses under numerous subjects alphabetically and metrically arranged by N. Sundaram Aiyar. It was compiled by Musaddirāma Śarman with a Hindī commentary<sup>180</sup>. Subhāṣita-ratna-samuccaya compiled by K. R. Jogalekar and V. G. Sant<sup>181</sup> is divided into 4 parts containing 50, 50, 75 and 75 mostly well-known *subhāṣita-s* respectively. Subhāṣita-saṃgraha by Puruṣottama Mayarāma Paṇḍya<sup>182</sup> contains 273 mostly known sayings with Gujarati explanations. Subhāṣita-saṃgraha compiled by Śrī Dhara Gondhalekar<sup>183</sup> contains 518 mostly well-known and popular *subhāṣita-s*. Subhāṣita-saptaśatī compiled by Maṅgaladeva Śāstri<sup>184</sup> is divided into 3 *khaṇḍa-s* and each *khaṇḍa* into *adhyāya-s* (it contains quotations from the whole Sanskrit literature but only a small part of these quotations are real *subhāṣita-s*). Subhāṣita-sāraḥ<sup>185</sup>, a collection of choice poems composed of 101 *subhāṣita-s*, was collected by Rāmakarma Sharma. It contains well-known *subhāṣita-s* e.g. from the Hitopadeśa, etc. Subhāṣita-śataka, a collection of 100 stray ethic verses, with an explanation in Malayalam by N. Unnirikkuti<sup>186</sup>. Subhāṣita-taranginī<sup>187</sup> is a collection of occasional stanzas and literary addresses and speeches in Malayalam and in Sanskrit. Subhāṣita-vyākhyāna-saṃgraha<sup>188</sup> contains few *subhāṣita-s* of Jainistic teachings. Sūktimañjarī<sup>189</sup>, an anthology of "charming Sanskrit verses" compiled by Baldeva Upādhyāya, contains 414 mostly well-known *subhāṣita-s* collected from the best known anthologies, in particular the Śārṅgadhara-paddhati. Sūktimālā<sup>190</sup> or "Gems from Sanskrit Literature" was compiled, edited and translated by Dr. A. Sharma and Vid. E.V. Vira Raghavacharya and contains 200 well-known *subhāṣita-s* culled from various anthologies and primary sources. Sūkti-mauktikakamālīkā by Śrī Śiva Prakāśa<sup>191</sup> contains 110 verses

<sup>178</sup> Published in Poona in 1912 and 1923.

<sup>179</sup> Published by A. PANCHAPADEŚA AIYER, Tiruvadi 1894, in Tamil script.

<sup>180</sup> Published in Meerut in 1905.

<sup>181</sup> Fifth edition, published in Ahmedabad in 1922.

<sup>182</sup> Published in Bombay in 1885.

<sup>183</sup> Published in Poona in 1878, part I.

<sup>184</sup> Published in Delhi in 1960.

<sup>185</sup> *Prathamā bhāgaḥ* published in Bombay, śaka 1832 (1910).

<sup>186</sup> Published in Calicut in 1876.

<sup>187</sup> Published in Calicut in 1908, in Malayalam script.

<sup>188</sup> Published in MS. form, *saṃvat* 1969 (1911).

<sup>189</sup> Published in the Vidyābhavan Saṃskṛta Granthamālā no. 142, Chowkhamba Skt. Ser. Vārāṇasī 1967.

<sup>190</sup> Sanskrit Academy Series 5, of the Osmania University, Hyderabad 1959.

<sup>191</sup> Published in Mathurā, *saṃvat* 1977 (1920).

composed mostly by the author himself but based on current *subhāṣita-s*. Sūktimuktāvali compiled by some Pūrvācārya and published in manuscript form by J. S. Javeri<sup>192</sup> contains 2030 *subhāṣita-s* on 94 pages, many of which are current but some of which are unknown sayings. Some of the sayings are in Prākṛit. Sūktimuktāvali (or Sindūraprakāra) of Somaprabha, the disciple of a Jaina, Vijayasimhācārya, was compiled by Cūlābarāva<sup>193</sup>, a short *subhāṣita-saṃgraha* containing 99 to 100 verses. Sūktisaṃgraha of Kavi Rākṣasa<sup>194</sup> is a short anthology divided into 5 chapters and containing 26, 21, 21, 22 and 13 *subhāṣita-s* respectively. Sūktisaṃgraha edited by Bhauroṃdāna Jethamala Saṭhiyā<sup>195</sup>, contains 198 *subhāṣita-s*. Sūkti-śataka by Harihara Jhā<sup>196</sup> contains 100 usually well-known *subhāṣita-s* in each of the two volumes. Sūkti-sudhā edited by R. Ś. Pālivāla<sup>197</sup> contains 88 *subhāṣita-s*. Sūkti-sudhā (Śrīmātuḥ)<sup>198</sup> contains 133 *subhāṣita-s* in two chapters<sup>199</sup>. Sūktisudhāṛṇava of Mallikārjuna<sup>200</sup> was edited by N. Anantharaṅgachariar in Kanarese script and a collection of Telugu Proverbs translated, illustrated and explained together with some sanskrit proverbs by Capt. V. Carr<sup>201</sup> (printed in Devanāgarī and Telugu characters. The Sanskrit *subhāṣita-s* were re-edited by O. Böhlingk and included in his Indische Sprüche). Vairāgyapañcāśat compiled by Kṛṣṇamācārya<sup>202</sup>, is a modern *subhāṣita-saṃgraha* and contains 58 *subhāṣita-s*.

There are many additional<sup>203</sup> unpublished *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s*. Some of them are quoted in various catalogues<sup>204</sup> but many are not even registered<sup>205</sup>. Our knowledge of the *subhāṣita*-literature is still very limited.

<sup>192</sup> Published in Bombay in 1922.

<sup>193</sup> Published in Nagpur in 1920.

<sup>194</sup> Ed. by Śrī S. ŚĀSTRĪ, published in the Haridass Skt. Ser. no. 134; at the Nirṇaya Sanskrit Press in 1960.

<sup>195</sup> Published in Setiṣa Jaina Granthamālā, Bikāner.

<sup>196</sup> Published in the Haridass Sanskrit Series (in 2 volumes) no. 263, Vārāṇasī 1962.

<sup>197</sup> Svādhyāya-maṇḍala, Pārāḍi 1963.

<sup>198</sup> Published in Pondichéry, Śrī Aravidāśrama, in 1953.

<sup>199</sup> Sometimes only the first two *pāda-s* of the verse were quoted.

<sup>200</sup> Published in Mysore, in Kanarese script.

<sup>201</sup> Published in Madras in 1868.

<sup>202</sup> Published in Kumbakonam in 1939.

<sup>203</sup> In addition to those mentioned above, viz. Subhāṣitahārāvali (op. cit., p. 25–26), Śṛṅgāralāpa (op. cit., p. 26), Maṇirāma's Śloka-saṃgraha (op. cit., p. 26).

<sup>204</sup> In the main catalogues of manuscripts (e.g. in AL, G, GMLM, HC) we find mention of hundreds of *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s*; some of them are important and some of the *subhāṣita-s* included in them were used by some editors. Only the most important *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* preserved in MSS. are quoted here: thirty-nine collections of stray verses dealing with a variety of subjects, such as morals, love, devotion, learning, etc. generally called Cāṭudhārā or Cāṭudhārāvyākhyā, Cāṭurat-nākara and Cāṭuśloka (GMLM; DC XX, 12010–44, 12747–50); Duṣṭadamanakāvyā of Kṛṣṇabhaṭṭa Hoṣaṅga, son of Rāmeśvara (ASB; HC VII, 5453) containing in 3 chapters stray verses directed against all classes and all sorts; incomplete with a commentary; Jaganmohana, a collection of 66 stray verses describing the characteristics of the attractions of women of different castes and countries and of their

different attire and activity (GMLM; DC XX, 12049); Haridāsa's anthology (MS. no. 79, Bhandarkar, Report 1883-84, p. 56) compiled in 1614 (probably *saṃvat*), divided into 22 sections of which the first (*nītiprakaraṇa*) is only preserved; Nīti-śāstra-samuccaya (BORI 339 of 1884-86; G XIV, 351) containing on 8 leaves stray verses on morality and good conduct; Padyamuktāvalī of Mukundapaṇḍita, son of Tryambaka Paṇḍita (ASB; HC VII, 5464) containing 1000 stray verses, mostly erotic; in different handwritings; Prasaṅgaratnāvalī in eleven MSS. (GMLM; DC XX, 12068-78), being an anthology of stray verses compiled from Purāṇa-s, Śruti-s and *kāvya*-s by Pōtayārya of Vādhūlagotra, son of Śiṅganārya by his wife Śiṅgāmbā; the anthology was originally divided into 79 *padhati*-s; none of the MSS. is complete; the first MS. is dated *śaka* 1388 (1466 A. D.); some of the MSS. are written in Telugu and in Kanarese characters; Prastāvaśloka (MS BORI 921 of 1884-86; G XIII, 429), anonymous, containing stray verses; Rasapārijāta of Bhānukara Miśra from Mithilā, a great incomplete anthology, probably from the 17th century; the author of the Rasapārijāta was the son of Gaṇapati Miśra and was patronized by the first Nizam; Subhātaraṅga of Jagannātha Miśra (MSS. BORI 416 of 1884-87; 594 of 1891-95; 852 of 1895-1902 and 107 of 1919-24); the first of the MSS. contains only a few interpolations; the other MSS. are somewhat different; the anthology is divided into 47 or more sections; most of the verses contain attributions to different poets; Sāramuktāvalī dated *saṃvat* 1650 (1592 A. D.) compiled by Śrī Mūnicandragani written by Pr. ŚIVAHAMSA (MS. BORI 1492 of 1886-92), Jainistic; probably prototype of most of the Jainistic anthologies; several verses of this anthology were quoted in the edition of Bhartṛhari's Śataka-s by D. D. KOSAMBI and in the Subhāṣitaratnaśoṣa edition; six different Ślokaśaṃgraha-s of Bābā Kāśinanda, Śrīdhara, Viṭṭhaleśā and three anonymous (ASB; HC VII, 5461, 5457, 5458, 5460, 5469 and 5471 respectively); the first is a modern compilation, the second and third are MSS. from the 19th century and the sixth is a MS. from the 18th century; the fourth and the fifth are incomplete: the second contains 400, the third 144 and the fifth 176 stray verses; Subhāṣita of Brahmā (ASB, HC VII, 5474), being a collection of stray verses which denounce in poor Sanskrit intoxication in general and smoking of tobacco in particular as the characteristic feature of the iron age; Subhāṣita, Jainistic (MS. BORI 1423 of 1887-91), no name or title since the first two folia are lost; other folia are numbered 3-37; several verses from this anthology were quoted in the edition of Bhartṛhari's Śataka-s by D. D. KOSAMBI; Subhāṣita, no title, because fol. 1 is missing (MS. BORI 91 of 1883-84), fol. 2-42 in *śaradā* script, fol. 23-42 in *devanāgarī* script; contains mostly wise sayings; similar to Vallabhadeva's Subhāṣitāvalī; several verses were quoted in the Subhāṣitaratnaśoṣa edition; Subhāṣita, Jainistic, older than other Jainistic anthologies and different (MS. BORI 1425 of 1887-91); folia numbered 241-347 (complete); several verses were quoted in the edition of Bhartṛhari's Śataka-s by D. D. KOSAMBI and in the Subhāṣitaratnaśoṣa edition; Subhāṣita, no title because first folia missing, Jainistic (MS. BORI 1396 of 1884-87); not complete, starts with fol. 21 and some 800 verses were lost; does not contain ascriptions; several verses were quoted in the edition of Bhartṛhari's Śataka-s by D. D. KOSAMBI; Subhāṣitakhaṇḍa of Gaṇeśabhaṭṭa (in the MS. the author is given as Gaṇebhaṭṭa), Jainistic (MS. 105 in Rājāpur), 22 folia (in reality 23); written in Jaina *nāgarī*; several verses were quoted in the edition of Bhartṛhari's Śataka-s by D. D. KOSAMBI; Subhāṣitaratnaśoṣa of Bhaṭṭaśrīkrṣṇa containing some 2000 verses, divided into 7 sections (MS. BORI 93 of 1883-84, folia 1-155; see also BHANDARKAR, Report 1883-4, p. 56-7); verses are not attributed to any poets or works; how many *subhāṣita*-s are missing is not known; several verses were quoted in the edition of Bhartṛhari's Śataka-s by D. D. KOSAMBI and in the Subhāṣitaratnaśoṣa edition; Subhāṣitārṇava, an exhaustive *subhāṣita*-*saṃgraha* (MS. in the former Asiatisches

Museum der Kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften), 324 fol. in Bengālī characters; many of the *subhāṣita-s* not ascribed to any poets or works, were not quoted in other anthologies but were used by O. BÖHTLINGK in his *Indische Sprüche*; Subhāṣitārṇava of Gopinātha (MS. BORI 820 of 1886–92); several verses were quoted in the edition of Bhartṛhari's Śataka-s by D. D. KOSAMBI and in the Subhāṣitaratnakoṣa edition; Subhāṣita-sāgara, Jainistic, divided into 72 *adhikāra-s* (MS. BORI 424 of 1899–1915); first two folia missing; the rest up to fol. 48 numbered; several verses were quoted in the edition of Bhartṛhari's Śataka-s by D. D. KOSAMBI; Subhāṣita-saṃgraha (MS. BORI 91 in BHANDARKAR's Report 1883–84, p. 56), fragment of an anthology of verses of which many are attributed to different authors; Subhāṣita-sāra-samuccaya (ASB; HC VII, 5454) containing 844 verses and quoting 151 poets of which as many as 34 are not known from any other anthologies or other sources; probably from the end of the 17th century since it also quotes verses by Veṇidatta; quotes mostly mediaeval poets; was probably influenced by the Padyaveṇī; many of its verses were used by J. B. CHAUDHURI in his numerous editions of *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s*; J. B. CHAUDHURI described the MS. in R. C. Law Volume II (Poona 1946, p. 145–58) and announced the publication of the text; Subhāṣitasavaskṛta (?)-śloka (?) an anonymous anthology of 74 verses (MS. R. 41 in the Bibliothèque de l'Université de Lyon) which was partly edited by P. REGNAUD in his *Stances Sanskrītes inédites* d'après un manuscrit de la Bibliothèque Universitaire de Lyon in *Annuaire de la Faculté des Lettres de Lyon*; fasc. 2 (1884) p. 1–22. This anthology is preserved in a beautifully written paper manuscript. It contains a great number of verses written in different metres; many of these, mostly descriptive verses, are quite well known. P. REGNAUD also edited from the same MS another unnamed anthology containing 61 descriptive verses written in different metres (ibidem, fasc. 2, 1885) and 187 mostly descriptive verses from a MS in the Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris (ibidem, VI); most of the latter verses are little known *anyokti-s*. (It was not possible to trace the latter MS); Subhāṣita-śloka, anonymous anthology in Mahārāṣṭrian calligraphy (MS. BORI 324 of 1881–82) on 22 + 38 folia; verses are rarely ascribed to any poets and if so done, the ascriptions are given before the verses; several verses were quoted in the edition of Bhartṛhari's Śataka-s by D. D. KOSAMBI and in the edition of Subhāṣitaratnakoṣa; Subhāṣita-suradrūma of Keḷadi Basavappa Nāyaka, a voluminous anthology (MS. BORI 228 of the later additions and 2271–2 at Śrīgeri as reported by Lewis Rice in the Catalogue (Bangalore 1884) and in the Library of the University of Bombay); the first and the third are paper MSS., the second is a palm-leave MS.; the compiler probably intended to write this anthology in 5 sections; the paper MSS. contain sections I, II and IV; section III appears only in the palm-leave MS. and contains many erotic verses; folia are separately numbered for each section; several verses were quoted in the edition of Bhartṛhari's Śataka-s by D. D. KOSAMBI, who also started to edit this anthology from the Śrīgeri MS.; cf. P. K. GODE, in BhV 3, p. 40–46, Kavindra Paramānanda and Keḷadi Basavabhūpāla; Subhāṣitāvalī, an anonymous Jain anthology (MS. BORI 1424 of 1887–91), dated *saṃvat* 1673; several verses were quoted in the edition of Bhartṛhari's Śataka-s by D. D. KOSAMBI and in the Subhāṣitaratnakoṣa; Sūktāvalī of Lakṣmaṇa (MS. no. 230, in P. PETERSON's Three Reports, p. 35), an anthology comprising 1000 verses many of which are ascribed to individual poets; Sūktiratnāvalī of Vaidyanātha Tatsat in two parts of which the longer follows the plan of the Śārngadhara-paddhati and from which the compiler probably borrowed most of his material (MS. 1203 in the India Office Library and 4032 in the Harvard University Library, dated *saṃvat* 1754); the latter MS. is ascribed to Vaidyanātha Pāyaguṇḍa of the Tatsat family, son of Rāmacandra or Rāmaḥhaṭṭa Sūri and grandson of Viṭṭalabhaṭṭa who lived in the second half of the 17th century; the anthology does not quote any authors or

To the *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* mentioned above, anthologies from special branches of Sanskrit literature or on special subjects should be added. There are, for instance, anthologies from Vedic texts and *śāstra-s*<sup>206</sup>, from *purāṇa-s*<sup>207</sup>, from inscriptions<sup>208</sup>, or dealing with special branches of learning, for instance anthologies on medical science<sup>209</sup>, on knowledge as such<sup>210</sup> or on courtezans<sup>211</sup>. In addition, collections of *lokokti-s* should also be mentioned here<sup>212</sup>.

The Sanskrit *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* influenced the literature of "Greater India" and became known north, south and east of India<sup>213</sup>. Some of the

works (cf. P. K. GODE, Date of the Sūktiratnāvali of Vaidyanātha Tatsat, in BhV 2, 2, p. 192-5); Vidagdhanavallabha, different from the Vallabhadeva's Subhāṣitāvali, probably one of the earlier anthologies preserved in 3 MSS.; its compiler was Vallabhadeva, son of Malhanadeva, Kaśmīrian; several verses of this anthology also appear in the Subhāṣitāvali of Vallabhadeva with some of the ascriptions identical in both anthologies (cf. V. RAGHAVAN, The Vidagdha Vallabha, in Journal of the Kerala University Or. MSS. Library, Trivandrum 12, 1-2, p. 133-54) and many others (for more details see L. STERNBACH's Introduction to the I volume of the Mahāsubhāṣita-saṃgraha, Hoshiarpur; idem, On some Non-Canonical Subhāṣita-collections in Jaina Literature, in the Commemoration Volume, Mahāvira and his Teachings; P. K. GODE, in the New Indian Antiquary 1939, 1, p. 681-5; and RAMAVATARA SARMA's A Note on Sanskrit and Sanskrit Anthologies, in BORS 15, 2, p. 101-4).

<sup>205</sup> Three published *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* attributed some of their verses to anthologies otherwise unknown and never published, e.g. to Sūktisahasra and Sūktiratnākara quoted in JS; to Prasaṅgaratnāvali, Sabhātarāṅga, Sphuṭaśloka and Sūktisaṃgraha quoted in SRK and to Saṃgraha or Saṃgrahitaḥ quoted in the Subhāṣita-sudhā-ratna-bhāṇḍāgāra; cf. L. STERNBACH, On the Subhāṣitahārāvali and on the Sūktisahasra, in Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha 28. 3-4, pp. 101-147.

<sup>206</sup> E.g. VIŚVA BANDHU's Vedaśāstra-saṃgraha, New Delhi 1966.

<sup>207</sup> E.g. A. P. KARMAKAR's Purāṇa-kāvya-stotra-sudhā, Thalakwadi, Belgaum 1955 and his almost identical Purāṇic Words of Wisdom, BhV 7, p. 11-3 and 8, p. 1-2 and in several issues of the periodical Purāṇa.

<sup>208</sup> E.g. B. C. CHHABRA's Abhilekhasaṃgraha, New Delhi 1964.

<sup>209</sup> P. M. MEHTA's Vaidyakiya-Subhāṣitāvali, in Vidyā Bhāvana Āyurveda Granthamālā 5, Benares 1955.

<sup>210</sup> Vidyā Vinodāśataka. Ed. by RĀJA RĀMA SIMHA DEVA, containing 100 verses on the pleasure of knowledge.

<sup>211</sup> L. STERNBACH, Gaṇikā-vṛtta-saṃgraha, in V I Series no. 4, Hoshiarpur 1953.

<sup>212</sup> A Handful of Popular Maxims, which is a collection of 484 *lokokti-s* compiled in alphabetical order, translated and interpreted by Col. G. A. JACOB, Bombay 1925 (third edition, 3 volumes). Cf. V. CHAKRAVARTI, Laukikanyāyāñjali. Two Handfuls of Popular Maxims current in Sanskrit Literature collected by Colonel G. A. JACOB and reply by Col. G. A. JACOB, On some Matters connected with the Laukikanyāyāñjali in IA (1912); p. 33-37 and 213-214; cf. P. V. KANE, History of Dharmaśāstra V. 2, p. 1039-1052; V. S. GHATE, Some Maxims or *nyāyas* met with in Sanskrit Literature in IA (1913), p. 250ff.; B. BHATTACHARYA, Some More Popular Maxims in Indian Culture 12.2, p. 98ff.

<sup>213</sup> Cf. L. STERNBACH, Sanskrit Nīti Literature in "Greater India", in Vivekananda Commemoration Volume, p. 33-40; idem, The Spreading of Cāṇakya's Aphorisms over "Greater India", Calcutta 1969; idem, Purāṇic Wise Sayings in the Literature of "Greater India", in the Purāṇa 11, 1, p. 73-115; idem, Sanskrit Subhāṣitasam-

collections of wise sayings were translated into the languages spoken in "Greater India" or with the spreading of Pāli became known in countries south and east of India. They even became known in Sanskrit in these countries, where Sanskrit was used. With the spreading of Sanskrit literary works, *subhāṣita-s* of Sanskrit origin, mostly ethical *subhāṣita-s*, also found their way in countries west of India.

In the 9th to the 11th centuries A. D. several Sanskrit *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* were translated into Tibetan and were included in the Tanjur; part of these works are preserved there better than in India, where some of them were lost, as for instance the Nītiśāstra of Masūrākṣa<sup>214</sup>, the Āryakośa of Ravigupta or the Śatagāthā of Vararuci<sup>215</sup>. Other Tibetan *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* were greatly influenced by Sanskrit thinking, as for instance the She-rab dong-bu<sup>216</sup> and the Subhāṣita-ratna-nidhi<sup>217</sup>. The latter work also became well known in Mongolia and Manchuria and influenced the Buryat "Mirror of Wisdom" of Lama Irđini

graha-s in Old Javanese and Tibetan, in ABORI 43, p. 115-58; idem, The Pāli Lokanīti and the Burmese Nīti Kyan, in BSOS 26, 2, p. 329-45; idem, On the Sanskrit Nīti Literature of Ceylon 1-3, in Brāhmavidyā 31-3, p. 636-63; 33, p. 80-116 and 35, p. 258-269 and idem, On the Vyāsasubhāṣita, in Prof. E. Śluszkiewicz Congratulatory Vol., Warszawa, 1974; idem, Subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s (op. cit.) paras 43-80; idem, Les aphorismes dits du Cānakya dans les textes bouddhiques du Tibet et du Turkestan Oriental, in JA (1971), p. 71-82; idem, Some Cānakya's Epigrams in Central Asia, in Vishveshvaranand Indological Paper Series no. 292, Hoshiarpur 1971.

<sup>214</sup> Published in Tibetan and Sanskrit by SUNITIKUMAR PATHAK, in Viśva Bhārati Annals 10. Cf. L. STERNBACH's review article in JAOS 82, 3, p. 407-11 and idem, The Spreading ... op. cit., p. 15 and 23-4.

<sup>215</sup> Cf. L. STERNBACH, The Spreading ... op. cit., p. 15.

<sup>216</sup> Or Nītiśāstra Prajñādaṇḍa, publ. by Rāi Bahadur SARAT CHANDRA DAS and by W. L. CAMPBELL, Baptist Mission Press, Calcutta 1919; and partly in Bhoṭa Prakāśa, Tibetan Chrestomathy by V. BHATTACHARYA, University of Calcutta 1939, p. 3-32 and 321-347. Cf. L. STERNBACH, The Spreading ... op. cit., p. 20-2.

<sup>217</sup> A Treasury of Aphoristic Jewels; The Subhāṣitaratnanidhi of Sa skya Paṇḍita in Tibetan and Mongolian, by J. E. BOSSON (with an English translation). A Thesis ... University of Washington 1965, University Microfilms, Ann Arbor (excellent edition); published also as photocopy of the Mongol MS. by L. LIGETI, in the Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica VI, Budapest 1948; with a German translation by W. L. CAMPBELL, in Ost-Asiatische Zeitung, Neue Folge 1925, p. 31-65 and 159-185; and partly with an English translation by A. CSOMA DE KÖRÖS in 1855-6 (JASB 24, p. 141ff. and 25, p. 257ff.; reprinted in JASB, Extra 1911) and in French by PH. E. FOUCAUX, in Le trésor des belles paroles. Choix de sentences composés par le lama Saskya Pandita, Paris 1859. Cf. PENTTI AALTO, The Mannerheim Fragment of Mongolian Quadratic Script, in Studia Orientalia, Helsinki, 17, 7, p. 3-9; idem, Fragmente des mongolischen Subhāṣitaratnanidhi in Quadratschrift, in Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung, Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin III, Heft 2, Berlin 1955, p. 279-90; JAMES E. BOSSON, A Rediscovered Xylograph Fragment from the Mongolian P'hags-pa Version of the Subhāṣitaratnanidhi, in Central Asiatic Journal, 6, p. 85-102. Cf. also L. STERNBACH, The Spreading ... op. cit., p. 24-7.



Maybzun Gallishev<sup>218</sup>. Sanskrit *subhāṣita-s* also influenced the Kalmuk and the Manchurian didactic literature and they also occur in Eastern Turkestan.

The Tamil *nīti* literature which was often influenced by Sanskrit *subhāṣita-s* formed its own *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* (e.g. the Nālaṭiṭyār, the Tiru-k-kural, the Nīti-venpā, etc.) containing many verses of Sanskrit origin. It also influenced the literature of Ceylon (e.g. the Siṃhalese Vedankavipota and the Subhāṣitaya of Alagiyaṭanna). Sanskrit *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* also found their way to Ceylon. There we find for instance the Sanskrit Vyāsasubhāṣitasamgraha which is called Vyāsakāraya there and also the Pratyayaśataka<sup>219</sup>.

Probably through Manipur some Sanskrit *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* penetrated into Burma and became prevalent there in Pāli. They are the Lokanīti<sup>220</sup>, the Dhammanīti<sup>221</sup>, the Rājanīti<sup>221</sup>, the Suttavaḍḍhananīti<sup>221</sup>, the Lokasāra<sup>222</sup> and

<sup>218</sup> Zertsalo Mudrosti, by T. A. DUGAR-NIMAEV, Buryatskoe knizhnoe Izdaltelstvo, Ulan Ude 1966. Cf. Cr. II, 1, p. 39 and L. STERNBACH, The Spreading . . . op. cit., p. 28-32.

<sup>219</sup> Sanna-sahita Vyāsakāraya, Buddhist School Books, published by Koḷamba Paramaviññānārtha Baudha saināgama, 1907; Vyāsakāraya in the Siṃhala Granthāṇavaya hevāt Sihaḷa Gaṭṣayura, ed. by A. M. GUNASEKARA, p. 46-59; Vyāsakāraya saha Hitopadeśaya, ed. by ŚRĪ DIPANKARA STHAVIRA, Mātara (n.d.); Vyāsakāraya saha Hitopadeśaya, published by Ratnākara Pot veḷauda śālāva, 2496; Vyāsakāraya in Sanskrit Texte aus Ceylon, herausgegeben von HEINZ BECHERT, Erster Teil, München 1962, p. 29-40. Pratyayaśataka, published by P. J. KARMADHARA, Panadura Press 1941; translated by N. MENDIS, Colombo 1886; and by ARTHUR V. PERERA, in Sanskrit Wisdom in English Verse, Candy 1942 (Pratyā Śataka or Hundred Confidences). Cf. L. STERNBACH, On the Sanskrit Nīti-literature of Ceylon 1, in ALB 32, p. 636-663; 2, ALB 33, p. 80-116; 3, ALB 35, p. 258-269. Cf. L. STERNBACH, The Spreading . . . op. cit., p. 32-4.

<sup>220</sup> Lokanīti pāth nissaya and Lokanīti pyo (Burmese translation in prose and verse of the Lokanīti Pāli text) by Mahāwithodārāma, Sayadaw 1909, Rangoon 1928; Lokanīti pyo (versified Lokanīti) in a school-book, ed. by U PE, Rangoon 1948; Sanakya-nīti and Lokanīti in Pāli with Burmese translation, Two most renown Nīti, translated and edited by THIRI PYANCHI, U THAN MYAT, Rangoon, University Press 1956 (reprinted in 1962); Lokanīti in Pāli with Meaning in Burmese, in the Anthology of Fifteen Books, ed. by Iksathara Pāli Scholars Society, Rangoon, Iksathara Piṭika Printing Press (p. 53-66; the Burmese meaning is given on p. 67-101); cf. Lawkanīti pwin akyè Kyān (Key to Lokanīti), by Shwehintha TAWYA SAYADAW, published by the author in Rangoon 1923 (p. 8 and 211; comprising the first 92 maxims with an explanation). In the eighteen-sixties the Lokanīti was published in Burmese and Pāli by Roman Catholic missionaries and "soon afterwards the Government itself published an edition of it in Burmese and Pāli in an issue of 10.000 copies" (R. C. TEMPLE, in JASB 47, p. 239ff.). Translated by J. GRAY, in Ancient Proverbs and Maxims from Burmese Sources, or the Nīti Literature of Burma, London 1886, and from Burmese by R. C. TEMPLE, in JASB 47, 1, no. 3, p. 239ff. Cf. L. STERNBACH, The Pāli Lokanīti and the Burmese Nīti Kyān and their Sources, in BSOAS 26, 2, p. 329-345.

<sup>221</sup> Cf. L. STERNBACH, The Spreading . . . op. cit., p. 42-5.

<sup>222</sup> Lokasāra pyui<sup>1</sup> (Lokasāra pya), ed. by U<sup>3</sup> VAN (MAṆSUVAṆ)<sup>3</sup> with paraphrasing and notes, Rangoon, Kusulavati 1955 (in Burmese); Lokasāra with an Introduction and Notes, by YEO WUN SIN, Rangoon, The British Burmese Press 1902 (in Burmese and English). Cf. L. STERNBACH, On the Influence of Sanskrit Dharma-

some of the so-called Cāṇakya's sayings<sup>223</sup>. The Pāli Lokanīti was translated into Burmese as the Nīti Kyan<sup>224</sup> and was incorporated into Burmese literature.

The Pāli Lokanīti was also included in Pāli into the literatures of Siam, Xiang Mai, Champa and Laos<sup>225</sup>. Through the Ceylonese Vyāsakāraya the Sanskrit Vyāsasubhāṣitasamgraha became also known in today's Thailand as Vyākāraśataka<sup>226</sup>. In Siam the Sup'hasit of P'hrah Ruāng<sup>227</sup> and in today's Thailand, Cambodia and Laos the collections of wise sayings called Pū sön Lān and Lān sön Pū, Pip'hek sön Büt and Sön nön<sup>228</sup>, as well as individual wise sayings are greatly influenced by the Sanskrit *subhāṣita*-literature. The Sanskrit collections of, and individual wise sayings attributed to, Cāṇakya were also and are still current in this part of the world.

In ancient Java and in Bali the Sārasamuccaya<sup>229</sup>, a collection of wise sayings in Old Javanese, which are straight translations of Sanskrit *subhāṣita*-s, mostly from the Mahābhārata, were current, and a new edition of this work with an Indonesian translation is being published in Bali. The Old Javanese Ślokān-

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and Artha-śāstra-s upon the Nīti Literature of Burma. 1. Rājadharmā in the Lokasāra in Pt. Chara Deva Shastri Felicitation Volume, Delhi 1974; pp. 618-628.

<sup>223</sup> Cāṇakya-nīti-Thaḍa-nīti, published in the Hla Khin and Sons Press, Dat Nan Ward, Mandalay 1900; Sanakya-nīti (and Lokanīti), by THIRI PYANCHI, U THAN MYAT, MA AYE KYI, Rangoon (n.d.) and in Universal Press 76(a), Rangoon 1954; Sanakya-nīti-Kyan based on the original text in Thakkata, ed. by the Pāli Scholars headed by U KHIN SOE, Rangoon, Hanthawaddy Press 1957. Cf. L. STERNBACH, The Spreading . . . p. 46-7.

<sup>224</sup> Burmese Version of the Nīti Kyan, a Code of Ethics in Pāli, translated by E. FOWLE, in JRAS 17, p. 252-66. Cf. L. STERNBACH, The Pāli . . . op. cit. and idem, The Spreading op cit., p. 41-2.

<sup>225</sup> Vajirañña, Vol. 2, 7, p. 60-84; P'hyā Srī Sunthon Vohān (Sundara-vohāra) Noi (1822-1891); metrical translation by Prince KROMA-SOMDEC'H DEC'HADISON (Tejātisara), in the Vajirañña 2, 8, p. 136-175; metrical translation Lokanīti, Sup'hasit T'ai, published by Rev. S. J. SMITH, 1872; Sup'hāsit Lokanīti Klam Klong, by the Local Education Department, Bangkok 1904; E. G. GERINI, On Siamese Proverbs, in Journal of the Siam Society, 1. Cf. L. STERNBACH, The Spreading . . . op. cit., p. 48; 53; 56.

<sup>226</sup> Vyākāraśataka, Sanskrit Text in Siamese Translation with a Preface, by H. R. H. Prince DAMRONG RAJANUBHAR (Bangkok), B. E. 2464. Cf. L. STERNBACH, On the Sanskrit Nīti-literature of Ceylon . . . op. cit., ALB 35, p. 259ff.

<sup>227</sup> E. G. GERINI, On Siamese Proverbs, op. cit., p. 49; 44 (quotes editions). Cf. L. STERNBACH, The Spreading . . . op. cit., p. 49.

<sup>228</sup> Cf. L. STERNBACH, The Spreading . . . op. cit., p. 50ff. L. FINOT, Recherches de la littérature Laotienne, in Bulletin de l'Ecole Française de l'Extrême Orient 22, p. 5.

<sup>229</sup> Published in Sanskrit and Old Javanese with a translation of the Sanskrit Text by RAGHU VIRI, in Śata-Piṭaka Series, Vol. 24, Delhi 1962; Eene oud-javaansche Vertaling van indische spreken, door H. H. JUYNBOLL, in Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië VI, 8-52, 1901, p. 393-98. Cf. L. STERNBACH, Sanskrit Subhāṣita-samgraha-s in Old-Javanese and Tibetan, in ABORI 43, p. 115-158 and L. STERNBACH, The Spreading . . . op. cit., p. 64-67. The Sārasamuccaya is now being reprinted with an Indonesian translation (256 verses) by RAI SUDHARTA, in Parisada Hindu Dharma Pusat, Denpasar 1968.

tara<sup>230</sup> and the Nitiśāstra or Nitisāra<sup>231</sup> are likewise collections of *subhāṣita-s* mostly, if not exclusively, of Sanskrit origin and the Old Javanese translation of the Udyogaparvan of the Mahābhārata as well as the Tantri Kāmandaka (Pañcatantra)<sup>232</sup> are full of well-known Sanskrit *subhāṣita-s*.

It may finally be recalled that in today's Indonesia and in other countries east of India—in "Greater India"—and also in some countries west of India, such as Iran, Syria, Arabia, Turkey, and then in the whole of Europe the Pañcatantra and other collections of Indian fables, e.g. the Śukasaptati, which are full of Sanskrit *subhāṣita-s*, became very popular. Some texts of the so-called wise sayings of Cāṇakya were also known in Persia<sup>233</sup>.

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<sup>230</sup> Ed. by SHARADA RANI, in the Dvīpāntara-Piṭaka, no. 2, Śata-Piṭaka, International Academy of Indian Culture, Delhi 1957. Cf. L. STERNBACH, Sanskrit . . . op. cit., and idem, The Spreading . . . op. cit., p. 61–2.

<sup>231</sup> Nitiśāstra, Oud-Javaansche tekst met vertaling, uitgegeven door R. Ng. Dr. POERBATJARAKA, Bibliotheca Javanica 4, Bandoeng 1933; cf. L. STERNBACH, The Spreading . . . op. cit., p. 59–61 and idem, Sanskrit . . . op. cit.

<sup>232</sup> Published by C. HOÛYKAAS, Tantri Kāmandaka, Bibliotheca Javanica 2, Bandoeng 1931. Cf. L. STERNBACH, Sanskrit . . . op. cit., and idem, The Spreading . . . op. cit., p. 63–4.

<sup>233</sup> Cf. L. STERNBACH, The Spreading . . . op. cit., p. 68–70.

Ludwik Sternbach

## GNOMIC AND DIDACTIC POETRY

As stated above, Indian writers have mastered the art of gnomic poetry by expressing their thoughts with conciseness and originality through a variety of literary media, such as similes, metaphores, etc. and they have turned general thoughts into truths drawn on wisdom and experience by condensing them into aphorisms, epigrams, maxims, sayings, etc. They inserted them everywhere, in all kinds of literary works including epics<sup>234</sup>, scientific literature, law, politics, philosophy, narrative poems, fables, etc., but above all in didactic poetry<sup>235</sup>. In some of these types of literature, and in particular in the narrative poems, maxims and aphorisms were meant to give a sententious summary of wordly wisdom. Gnostic verses often prevailed in didactic works, so that the latter lost their distinctive character. Gnostic and didactic poetry tended to blend so that there is no line of demarcation between both genres in India. The preponderance of gnomic poetry even made a demarcation line between lyric and gnomic poetry very dim.

Gnostic and didactic poetry is also closely connected with anthologies, for the latter are collections of stray gnomic verses composed by different poets and culled from different sources. The difference lies in the principle that anthologies are collections of verses composed by different poets, while gnomic and didactic poems are collections of verses composed by one author only. However, that is not always so in Sanskrit literature. Collections of gnomic and didactic verses that were presumably written by a single author and considered to be written by him, could in practice not have been composed by this author alone. They were often attributed to one author only *in majorem gloriam*, though they were also borrowed from the floating mass of oral tradition. That is in particular the case with the two main works of this genre of literature—the collections of verses attributed to Cāṇakya and to Bhartṛhari.

For centuries Cāṇakya was regarded as a master of worldly wisdom and foresight and the collections of wise sayings attributed to him won him the

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<sup>234</sup> The Mahābhārata, for instance, contains a great number of wise sayings in the Udyoga- (Prajāgara section), Śānti- and Anuśāsana-parvan-s. The Vidura-nīti of the Udyogaparvan is a *subhāṣita-saṃgraha par excellence*. Cf. ARYA RAMCHANDRA G. TRIVARI, Vidura-nīti. A Cultural and Political Study in JIH 36, 3, p. 108ff.

<sup>235</sup> The different sayings are not always ethical sayings and therefore this kind of literature cannot be called “ethical poetry”. Differently S. RANGACHAR, Outlines of the History of Classical Sanskrit Literature, Mysore 1964 (p. 145) and others.

reverence of every Indian. Their reverence has been transmitted from one generation to the other and, because his real history has been forgotten, tradition has surrounded his name with a halo of intellectual glow. Later he was known under the names of Vātsyāyana—the author of erotical treatises, Mallanāga—the leader in battle, Kauṭilya—the politician, Cāṇakya—the moralist, Pakṣila—the logician, Viṣṇugupta—the astronomer, and Aṅgula—the mathematician<sup>236</sup>. In the introduction to the Pañcatantra and Kāmandaki's Nītisāra we find a reverential mention of Cāṇakya who is called by his own name Viṣṇugupta. In saluting Cāṇakya, Kāmandaki probably meant to say that Viṣṇugupta had extracted the moral sayings on *nīti* from the textbook of the Arthaśāstra, since Cāṇakya was looked upon as one of the greatest authorities on the science of policy, morals and ethics. Collections of his wise sayings are generally known as *rājanīti-śāstra-s* or epitomes of policy, although they do not contain many sayings now dealing with *rājanīti* (statemanship). It is likely that the original collection of wise sayings, today known as the work of Cāṇakya, contained a choice of maxims and aphorisms from a treaty of policy attributed to Cāṇakya to which at a later date other maxims were successively added that were not necessarily connected with policy and political wisdom but with other subjects, in particular with morals and ethics. Political topics receded and moral and ethical topics became prominent. In the course of years the word *rājanīti* lost its meaning of kingship and government and acquired the connotation of excellent, noble behaviour, not technically royal, but moral. Cāṇakya lost the connotation of Kauṭilya—the crooked and gained the connotation of Cāṇakya—the moralist.

In addition to *rājanīti*, Cāṇakya's collections of sayings contain principles of morality and high ethical value, many of which are generally accepted not only in India but all over the world. They deal with a variety of topics. Each saying is not connected with the other by any bond of thought and each verse is normally complete in itself, although there are exceptions when a couple of verses deal with the same subject. All these criteria are also characteristic features of the *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s*.

Although the collections of Cāṇakya's wise sayings possess a fairly old traditional nucleus, many of these aphorisms also occur in other works of Sanskrit literature, such as epics, purāṇa-s, *dharmaśāstra-s*, *kāvya-s*, *kathā-s* and others. This identity does not imply direct borrowing from each other, because the floating mass of oral tradition may have served as a common depositary for those borrowings. This is tacitly acknowledged in some introductory verses of Cāṇakya's collections which state that the verses were taken from different *śāstra-s*. It clearly shows that Cāṇakya's collections of sayings

<sup>236</sup> Two *kośa-s*, viz. Hemacandra's Abhidhānacintāmaṇi (853-4) and Yādava-prakāśa's Vaijayantī (OPPERT's edition, 96), attribute to Cāṇakya these synonyms. (Cf. A Note on the supposed identity of Vātsyāyana and Kauṭilya, by R. SHAMA SASTRY, in Quarterly Journal of the Mythical Society, 7, p. 210-6).

are compilations of maxims, epigrams, etc. which, despite the tradition, cannot have been composed by Cāṇakya himself. Cāṇakya was a name under which individual maxims were brought together in collections of wise sayings<sup>237</sup>.

The number of editions and manuscripts of Cāṇakya's sayings is immense. No one even knows how many of them were written<sup>238</sup>, the less so as in India many of them served for popular rather than scholarly purposes. Many of them were used as textbooks for teaching Sanskrit or they became selections or abridged editions arbitrarily modified by editors and often so changed that their model could no longer be recognized<sup>239</sup>.

In the beginning of the twentieth century, when only few manuscripts of Cāṇakya's sayings were known, almost each manuscript was considered a new version. So O. Kressler, who in 1907 wrote a dissertation about Cāṇakya's aphorisms<sup>240</sup>, fixed the number of Cāṇakya's collections of sayings at 17 versions. Some of the manuscripts, however, considered by Kressler as different versions, are, even at first glance, identical. Now, all the collections of Cāṇakya's sayings are divided into six versions<sup>241</sup>, viz.: (1) the *Vṛddha-cāṇakya*, *textus ornatior*, which is the best known version of Cāṇakya's sayings usually published under the title *Cāṇakya-nīti-darpaṇa*. It begins with 3 introductory verses and comprises some 342 verses in 17 *adhyāya*-s. (2) The *Vṛddha-cāṇakya*, *textus simplicior* version, which is less known and similar to the preceding one, but distinct. It begins with the same introductory verses, but contains 109 to 173 verses divided into 8 *adhyāya*-s. (3) The *Cāṇakya-nīti-śāstra* version, which is very well known and usually published under the title *Cāṇakya-śloka* or *-śataka* or *-nīti*; it begins with 2 introductory verses which state that the author teaches worldly wisdom "selected from various *śāstra*-s". The first group of this version

<sup>237</sup> Cf. L. STERNBACH, *Cāṇakya-rāja-nīti*, Maxims on Rājanīti . . ., in Adyar Library Series, Vol. 92, Madras 1963.

<sup>238</sup> The only critical edition of Cāṇakya's sayings in the six versions is by L. STERNBACH, *Cāṇakya-nīti-text Tradition*, Vol. I, 1 and 1, 2, V. I. Series 27 and 28, Hoshiarpur 1963–1964 and of all verses attributed to Cāṇakya in alphabetical order by L. STERNBACH, *idem*, Vol. II, 2 and II, 3, V. I. Series 29a and 29b, Hoshiarpur 1967 and 1968. A study on Cāṇakya's aphorisms is in Vol. I, 1 and in Vol. II, 1, VI. Series 29, Hoshiarpur 1970; a full bibliography (27 items) is given *ibidem* Vol. II, 1, p. 29–35 and 273–4. Subsequently appeared: L. STERNBACH, *Some Cāṇakya's Aphorisms in Central Asia*, in Vishveshvaranand Indological Paper Series no. 292 (VIJ 10, p. 66ff.) and L. STERNBACH, *Les aphorismes dits de Cāṇakya dans les textes bouddhiques du Tibet et du Turkestan oriental*, in JA (1971) p. 71–82.

<sup>239</sup> L. STERNBACH, *op. cit.*, II, 1, p. 23.

<sup>240</sup> O. KRESSLER, *Stimmen indischer Lebensklugheit* . . ., in "Indica", Heft 4, Leipzig 1907.

<sup>241</sup> L. STERNBACH, *Various Versions of Cāṇakya's Compendia*, in Akten des 24. Orientalisten Kongresses, München 1957, p. 544–7. Cf. KINDLER's *Literatur Lexicon*, I (1965), col. 2064–5; D. H. H. INGALLS, *Cāṇakya's Collections and Nārāyaṇa's Hitopadeśa*, in JAOS 86, p. 1 and L. STERNBACH, *The Cāṇakya's Collections and Nārāyaṇa's Hitopadeśa; an Additional Comment*, in JAOS 87, 3, p. 306ff.

always contains the same 108 verses and is therefore called *aṣṭottaraśata*. The second group usually contains the same 108 verses which are often arranged differently, and a number of additional sayings attributed to Cāṇakya *in maiorem gloriam*. This version is not divided into *adhyāya-s*. (4) The *Cāṇakya-sāra-saṃgraha* version, which is not popular in India and is most commonly known in North-East India and in Nepāl. It begins with 4 introductory verses of which the first two are identical with the first two introductory verses and the third is a variant of the third introductory verse of the *Vṛddha-cāṇakya* versions; the fourth introductory verse is identical with the second introductory verse of the *Cāṇakya-nīti-śāstra* version. This version comprises 300 verses divided into 3 *śataka-s*. (5) The *Laghu-cāṇakya*, the least known version in India, but better known in Europe. It is the most congruous version. It begins with 3 introductory verses and comprises 83 to 97 stanzas divided into 8 short *adhyāya-s*. (6) The *Cāṇakya-rāja-nīti-śāstra* version is the longest but it is not well known. It contains many highly refined verses and it is almost identical with the Bṛhaspati-saṃhitā of the Garuḍa-purāṇa included in I, 108–115 of the Purāṇa. It has five introductory verses and one closing verse; the second introductory verse is identical with the first introductory verse of the *Vṛddha-cāṇakya* versions; the 14th verse (in some texts the 9th or 16th verse), being the sixth introductory verse, is identical with the second introductory verse of the *Cāṇakya-nīti-śāstra* version. It comprises 253 to 658 verses divided into 8 *adhyāya-s* and particularly the 7th and the 8th *adhyāya-s* are long and contain many interpolated new sayings borrowed from the floating mass of oral tradition.

When the individual versions of these so-called Cāṇakya's sayings were composed is not known, with the exception of the *Cāṇakya-rāja-nīti-śāstra* and the *Laghu-cāṇakya* versions: the date of the former is the second half of the 10th or the beginning of the 11th century at the latest, for it is known that it was then incorporated in the Tibetan Tanjur and the date of the latter is the 7th to 10th century, because this text was found among Eastern Turkestan texts of this period. In general, the collections as such are of much later date than the sayings themselves; the sayings really are dateless<sup>242</sup>.

The wise sayings attributed to Cāṇakya became also known in "Greater India" and influenced the literatures of Tibet, Mongolia, Manchuria, Ceylon, Burma, Thailand, Xieng Mai, Lāos, Champa, Indonesia and even some countries west of India<sup>243</sup>.

The following specimens from the various versions of the so-called sayings of Cāṇakya illustrate his moral teachings and observations of life:

"For the brahmans fire is their god; wise men have their god in their hearts; for fools the idol is their god; however who looks at everything with the same eye sees God everywhere" (*Vṛddha-Cāṇakya, textus ornatior* 4, 21; Cr. 8).

<sup>242</sup> Differently D. H. H. INGALLS, op. cit., p. 8ff.

<sup>243</sup> L. STERNBACH, The Spreading of Cāṇakya's Aphorisms over "Greater India", Calcutta Oriental Book Agency, Calcutta 1969.

“One should stay away, at a safe distance, from a sleeping horse, from an elephant in rut, from a cow that has just calved for the first time and from a king who went into his harem” (Vṛddha-Cāṇakya, *textus simplicior* 8, 9; Cr. 107).

“Life without knowledge is empty; a country without relatives is empty; a house without sons is empty, but poverty is complete emptiness” (Cāṇakya-nīti-śāstra 45; Cr. 99).

“Whatever is not right must not be done even if one should die; but what is right must be done even if one should die for it” (Cāṇakya-sāra-saṃgraha 2, 98; Cr. 1).

“Let there be only one son born who has good qualities instead of a hundred sons devoid of them; one moon can dispel the darkness (of the night) but not so the stars though there are hundreds of them” (Laghu-cāṇakya “O”; Cr. 216).

“He is a real king who is the refuge of the helpless, the support of the friendless, the chastiser of those addicted to vices, the protector of the frightened, the sustainer of the timid, the benefactor, the excellent preceptor, the father, the mother and the brother to his subjects” (Cāṇakya-rāja-nīti-śāstra 4, 30; Cr. 53).

“As a single sweet-smelling tree in bloom fills up the whole forest with pleasant fragrance, so also a single good son adorns the whole family” (all versions of the so-called Cāṇakya’s sayings; Cr. 212);

or a verse with a somewhat ironical and humorous touch:

“A guest, a child, a king and a wife do not ask whether one has or does not have, but always exclaim ‘give, give’” (Cr. 1137).

As famous as Cāṇakya’s wise sayings are Bhartṛhari’s epigrams which exist today in the *Śatakatraya*, i.e. in three centuries (*śataka-s*) called *nīti*, *śṛṅgāra* and *vairāgya-śataka-s*. However, Bhartṛhari’s verses are different in character; they are less moralistic and more aphoristic.

No information is available about Bhartṛhari, the author of the epigrams. He was variantly identified as (1) a Buddhist grammarian who died in 651 A. D., details of whose life have been reported by the Chinese traveller I-tsing fifty years later. This Bhartṛhari was said to have entered and left the monastery seven times. Some scholars took this to prove the identity of the grammarian and the poet, but as a matter of fact there are solecisms in any text of the *śataka-s* (centuries) that cannot possibly have been committed by one who is known to have belonged to the great line of Sanskrit grammarians and the epigrams show a hinduistic and not a buddhistic character<sup>244</sup>; (2) a king of

<sup>244</sup> The *śataka-s* of Bhartṛhari clearly show that Bhartṛhari was not a Buddhist, but a devotee of Śiva in the Vedantic sense; theoretically he could have been a Śaiva Brahmin, then a Śaiva Vedānta and finally a Buddhist; as Śaiva Brahmin he could be at the court of the king and then write the nucleus of the *śatakatraya*, however such a hypothesis is without proof and is highly improbable. Cf. A Record of the Buddhist Religion . . . by I-tsing, translated by J. TAKAKUSU, Oxford 1896, p. 178–80; J. FILLIOZAT, A propos de la religion de Bhartṛhari, in Silver Jubilee Volume of the Zinbun-Kagaku-Kenkyushyo, Kyoto University 1954, p. 116–20; K. B. PATHAK, Was Bhartṛhari a Buddhist?, in JBBRAS 18, p. 341ff.; N. A. RAMASWAMI SASTRI, Bhartṛhari a Baudha?, in Journal of the Annamalai Uni-



Central India, as reported by Tāranātha without biographical details<sup>245</sup>. The date may be set at any period up to the twelfth century, described as “at the death of Dharmakīrti” and nothing is said about a king having written any poetry; (3) a king converted to asceticism by the thaumaturge Gorakṣanātha on the death of his favourite queen. This story is almost pure legend, because the “history” of the sect to which the teacher and his royal disciple belonged according to the tradition really forms part of that powerful stream of folklore which reaches as far as the undercurrent of black magic present in all primitive communities, and has left a swirl upon the surface of accepted ritual in addition to a faint ripple in literature; (4) the son of a brahman by a śūdra woman; this is a thirteenth century tradition (handed down by Merutuṅga’s Prabandhacintāmaṇi) and the only record of any age or authenticity in which is explicitly stated that the Bhartṛhari in question wrote a *śataka*, namely the *Vairāgya*<sup>246</sup>; (5) identical with Bhaṭṭi, the author of Bhaṭṭikāvya, since *bhaṭṭi* is prakṛtised from *bharṭṛ*, or a half-brother or son of the poet.

According to D. D. Kosambi to whom we owe a critical edition of Bhartṛhari’s epigrams, Bhartṛhari portrayed himself as “a hungry brahmin in distress”, but a proud one<sup>247</sup>. In reality, however, “we still do not know who he was”<sup>248</sup> and consequently we are ignorant of his date. D. D. Kosambi placed him towards the opening centuries of the Christian era, but not later than the third century A. D.<sup>249</sup>. The earliest reference to Bhartṛhari, the poet, is made by Somadeva in his *Yaśastilakacampū* (959 A. D.) where he is mentioned as one of several poets (*mahākavi-s*), but even then it is doubtful whether Somadeva referred to his epigrams for he quotes two of his verses<sup>250</sup> as written by Vararuci and Nilapaṭa and a third verse is quoted anonymously<sup>251</sup>. The first real

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versity 6, 1 (1936); K. B. PATHAK, Bhartṛhari and Kumārila, in JBBRAS 18, p. 213ff.; L. D. BARNETT, in JRAS (1923), p. 422; SADHU RAM, Bhartṛhari’s Date in JGJRI 9, 2–4; cf. H. NAKAMURA, Tibetan Citations of Bhartṛhari’s Verses and the Problem of His Date in Studies in Indology and Buddhology presented in Honour of Professor Susomo Yamaguchi on the Occasion of his 60th Birthday, Kyoto 1955, p. 122–136; idem, Bhartṛhari and Buddhism in JGJRI 28.2, p. 395–406.

<sup>245</sup> A. SCHIEFNER, Tāranāthas Geschichte d. Buddhismus, p. 195.

<sup>246</sup> D. D. KOSAMBI, The Quality of Renunciation in Bhartṛhari’s Poetry, in BhV 7, 5–6, p. 49.

<sup>247</sup> *Vairāgya-śataka* 8 (BhŚ 152). See also D. D. KOSAMBI, The Quality . . . op. cit., p. 59ff.

<sup>248</sup> D. D. KOSAMBI’s Introduction to BhŚ, p. 81.

<sup>249</sup> Ibid., p. 78. Cf. D. D. KOSAMBI, On the Authorship of the Śatakatrāyī, in JOR (Madras) 15, p. 64–77; idem, Introduction to the Śatakatrāyā, in Bhāratīya Vidyā Granthāvalī 9, p. 12; J. HERTEL, Ist das Nitiśataka von Bhartṛhari verfaßt?, in WZKM 16, p. 202ff.; E. LA TERZA, Su Bhartṛhari, in XII International Congress of Orientalists, Roma 1899, p. 201–6.

<sup>250</sup> Nitiśataka 26 (BhŚ 3)—KM 70, part II, p. 99 and Śṛṅgāraśataka 64 (BhŚ 113)—KM 70, part II, p. 252.

<sup>251</sup> Nitiśataka 94 (BhŚ 22)—KM 70, part II, p. 256.

reference to Bhartṛhari, the poet, and to his *śataka-s* is made in 1304 A. D. in Merutuṅga's *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*<sup>252</sup>.

D. D. Kosambi placed Bhartṛhari in the first centuries of the Christian era on the assumption that his verses were written by a single author. However, he himself doubted whether that was the case with the whole heritage of the epigrams attributed to him. He admitted, however, and that view is generally accepted today, that Bhartṛhari's collections of stanzas were generally ascribed to him by later compilers<sup>253</sup>. Bhartṛhari himself, however, was not an anthologist but an original author. As an anthologist he would have produced a better unified collection like, for instance, the obviously late *paddhati* redaction of the *Śataka-s*, as found in the South Indian manuscripts which in this respect are better than the older collections of the North<sup>254</sup>. Anthologists were compilers who, not only at the end but also in the body of the *Śataka's*, added verses which they supposed to have been written by Bhartṛhari. Therefore, Bhartṛhari's *Śataka-s* should be considered an anthology of verses a small part of which was composed by Bhartṛhari himself and a greater part of which was later added. That is particularly evident from the addition of verses borrowed from Kālidāsa's *Śakuntalā* or from the *Tantrākhyāyika*<sup>255</sup>. Most of the additional stanzas were probably borrowed from the floating mass of oral tradition.

Probably many verses of the *Śṛṅgāra-śataka* were written by Bhartṛhari, for they show a definite unity of structure—they first deal with the pleasure of love and the beauty of women, then with the might of love and its joys, particularly in the changing seasons of the year, then there are verses in which the joys of love are compared to the bliss of the peace of mind attained through asceticism and wisdom, and lastly the poet recognizes more and more clearly that a

<sup>252</sup> SJS 1, p. 121 (21).

<sup>253</sup> BhŚ, Introduction, p. 78.

<sup>254</sup> M. WINTERNITZ (GIL 3, p. 146) considers, however, that the *nītiśataka* and the *vairāgya-śataka* "have become more or less anthologies" in which no more than a small, but nevertheless a considerable part of the authentic verses by Bhartṛhari may have come down. D. D. KOSAMBI in his *Culture and Civilisation of Ancient India in Historical Outline* (London 1965) considered that the most interesting anthology was that of Bhartṛhari "who may have existed as a real person, an indigent poet of considerable ability. The new type of verse speaks of poverty and helplessness—of the brahmins, of course—in the face of caste and social convention which allowed no escape except through the parochial and overcrowded priesthood or the arbitrary and galling patronage of petty feudal princelings. The consciousness of talent withering away unused led to a new poetry of frustration, usually in terse epigrams. Thereto were added stanzas on lower-middle-class morality (*nīti*) and some erotic verses which show literary wallowing in luxuries well beyond the poet's reach. Lastly came the inevitable concomitant, a quite imaginary 'renunciation' in the distant future of the so-so life that the poet actually lived. Verses of Bhartṛhari type are now used as handy platitudes by Indians with some classical education and unwillingness to work at the manual and mechanical trades" (p. 206).

<sup>255</sup> *Nītiśataka* 71 (BhŚ 63) = *Śakuntalā* 5, 13; *Nītiśataka* 47 (BhŚ 59) = PT 1, 188 / 171; *Nītiśataka* 96 (BhŚ 40) = PT 2, 115 / 104; *Vairāgya* 8 (BhŚ 152) = PT 2, 76 / 65.

woman is after all nothing but a sweet poison, a serpent by the wayside and that love is but a decoy, luring men to love the world, whereas happiness can only be found in renunciation of the world in God—Śiva or Brahman.

By tradition, Bhartṛhari's detached verses—a phenomenon characteristic to all anthologies—came at a later date down in their popular form in three *śataka-s* or centuries (*Śatakatrāya*). They are the *śṛṅgāra-* (the hundred on love), mention of which has already been made, the *nīli-* (the hundred on worldly wisdom), and the *vairāgya-śataka-s* (the hundred on renunciation of the world). They represent the four *puṛuṣārtha-s* from sensual pleasure, to virtue, good sense and finally to the highest goal, viz. renunciation of the world. However, there is no way of knowing what form the original collections had. Originally they could not have had the form of the *Śatakatrāya*, nor could the author himself have composed any collection of single stray verses in a way comparable to what we possess today. This is apparent from the immense variations in the order, and in the content, for no one could possibly take such liberties with a generally accepted text<sup>256</sup>.

Already at an early date Bhartṛhari's single epigrams and, to a lesser extent, his collections of epigrams in the three *śataka-s*, enjoyed and are still enjoying a wide appeal not only in India but even in Europe<sup>257</sup>. The number of editions of this work is very large (almost 200), but only one of these is critical, viz. the edition of D. D. Kosambi: the *Śatakatrāyādi-subhāṣita-saṃgraha* based on 377 manuscripts. It is a collection of all stanzas ascribed to Bhartṛhari in different *śataka-s* ascribed to him. This edition contains the total of nearly three times the traditional number of 300 verses, viz. 852 verses each of which forms an entity and is critically edited<sup>258</sup>. The first 200 stanzas are generally found in all the versions of the *Śatakatrāya*.

<sup>256</sup> D. D. KOSAMBI, Bhṣ, Introduction, p. 62. The lately edited text of the *Puruṣārthopadeśa* of Bhartṛhari (ed. by K. V. ŚARMA, in V I Series no. 44) on the basis of one MS. deposited in the Kerala University Oriental Research Institute and MS. Library, Trivandrum (no. 5115) has a totally different arrangement from the *śatakatrāya* redaction. Also the *Padyasaṃgraha*, a MS. in RAS of Calcutta (HC VII, 5438) is a different collection of Bhartṛhari's sayings.

<sup>257</sup> Bhartṛhari was probably the first Indian poet to become known in Europe. Already in 1651 Bhartṛhari's sayings, as explained by a Brahmin Padmanābha to Abraham ROGER (ROGERIUS), a Dutch Calvinist missionary, were appended to his *De open-deure tot het verborgen heydendom*, re-edited by W. CALAND, The Hague 1915.

<sup>258</sup> Published in SJS 23. Other important editions are: The *Śatakatrāyam* of Bhartṛhari, by D. D. KOSAMBI, being the Southern Archetype of the Three Centuries of Epigrams ascribed to Bhartṛhari, in *Bhāratīya Vidyā-granthāvali* 9; the Bhartṛhari *Śatakatrāyam* with a *tīkā* of Rāmaṛṣi, by D. D. KOSAMBI, in *ĀnSS* 27; *Subhāṣitatriṣatī*, by D. D. KOSAMBI, in NSP 1957; W. L. S. PAṆṢIKAR, *Subhāṣitatriṣatī* with the Commentary of Rāmacandra Budhendra, Bombay 1922; K. T. TELANG, *The Nitiśataka and Vairāgyaśataka of Bhartṛhari*, in BSS 11, Bombay 1874. A European older edition is by Petrus A. BOHLEN, *Bhartṛhari's sententiae*, Berlin 1833 (cf. A. SCHIEFNER and A. WEBER, *Variae lectiones ad Bohlenii editionem . . . pertinentes*, Berlin 1850); different editions (European and Indian) are

It is generally possible to divide the manuscripts of Bhartṛhari's collections of epigrams into two classes, viz. the amorphous Northern and the logically arranged Southern recension. Within the recensions, however, the variability is still enormous so that it is necessary to make finer distinctions<sup>259</sup>. The Northern recension comprises two archetypes called  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$ , the first of which falls into seven versions, and the second into three versions. The Southern recension is shorter and is logically arranged into chapters (*paddhati-s*) with verses of similar import grouped together; usually its verses are better construed grammatically. This recension can be divided into archetypes  $\gamma$  and  $\delta$ , the first of which is divided into *vairāgya-s* and the second into *paddhati-s* of ten verses in the *nīti-* and *vairāgya-*sections and of 20 verses in the *śrīṅgāra-*section. D. D. Kosambi also envisaged a hypothetical Vedantic recension which could have been quite early; it may have preceded the groupings of Bhartṛhari's verses into *śataka-s* and accordingly he placed it between the 'ur-Bhartṛhari' and 'ur-*śatakatrāya*'<sup>260</sup>.

Bhartṛhari deserves a place in the front rank of Old Indian literature for his consummate handling of so difficult a language as Sanskrit. Variety, ease, facility, clarity, emphasis and, when necessary, ornate imagery are all in his command. He often wrote without being bound by the iron rules of Sanskrit syntax and grammar and he created new usages for a better expression of thoughts condensed in single epigrams, each of which is a work of art in itself. Each one stands by itself and serves to express one idea, be it a sentiment of

enumerated on p. 6–8 of BhŚ (cf. HC VII, 5097–5111). The epigrams were translated into most European languages: English, German, French, Italian, etc. and several modern Indian languages. The best translation into English (with the Sanskrit text) is by P. G. NATH, Śrī Venkateśvara Press, Bombay 1896; other well-known English translations are: by C. H. TAWNEY, Rev. B. HALE WORTHAM, C. W. GURNER, M. R. KALE, H. B. GURJAR, P. M. MORE, A. W. RYDER, J. M. KENNEDY, D. SCOTT, B. A. BALUMUKUNDA, etc. The latest English translation in verse by Barbara STOLER MILLER (with the transcription of the English text) is based on BhŚ; it is a pretentious and poor translation of the first 200 verses which D. D. KOSAMBI considered as the most authentic ones. Prefaces of most of the editions and translations, in particular by D. D. KOSAMBI, P. GOPINATH, J. M. KENNEDY, C. H. TAWNEY, B. H. WORTHAM, etc. contain studies on Bhartṛhari. Also the following studies are important: R. REGNAUD, *Études sur les poètes sanscrits de l'époque classique; Bhartṛhari—les centuries*, Paris 1871; D. D. KOSAMBI, *The Quality of Renunciation in Bhartṛhari's Poetry*, op. cit.; idem, *On the Authorship of the Śatakatrāya*, op. cit.; idem, *Śatakatrāyam of Bhartṛhari with the commentary of Rāmaṣi*, in *Journal of the University of Bombay* 15, p. 63ff.; idem, *Some Extant Versions of Bhartṛhari's Śatakas*, in *JBBRAS* 21, p. 17–32; L. H. GRAY, *The Metres of Bhartṛhari*, in *JAOS* 20, p. 157–9; R. S. MCGREGOR, *Some Bhartṛhari's Commentaries in Early Braj Bhāṣā Prose*, in *BSOS* 26, 2, p. 341ff. Cf. S. K. DE, *Wit, Humour and Satire in Ancient Indian Literature*, in *OH* 3, 2, p. 176; idem, *Ancient Indian Erotics and Erotic Literature*, Calcutta 1959, p. 33ff.; L. H. GRAY, *The Bhartṛharinirveda of Harihara*, in *JAOS* 25, p. 197–230.

<sup>259</sup> BhŚ, p. 60.

<sup>260</sup> Cf. BhŚ, p. 61. Commentaries to almost each text of the different recensions exist, but none is of outstanding importance.

love, of resignation or of policy in complete and dainty finished form. Most of his epigrams are composed in different metres which played an important role in the hands of the poet. He deserves the highest merit for the composed expression in his maxims of life with his power of giving impressing utterances to the essential facts of human life<sup>261</sup>. Bhartṛhari's epigrams bear so definite a stamp of individuality that J. J. Meyer<sup>262</sup> called him "one right characteristic brain of Old India" that represents the "typical Hindu" in his wavering between ardent sensuality and asceticism. The human goal which a man sets for himself, whether to live a sensual life or an ascetic one is for instance set forth in an aphorism in which the author asks:

"Shall we retire to Gaṅgā's brink / or cull the sweets of honeyed lays, / or court a wife whom all men praise ? / Life's short — we know not what to think"<sup>263</sup>,

because

"In this vain fleeting universe, a man / of wisdom has two courses: first, he can / direct his time to pray, to save his soul, / and wallow in religion's nectar-bowl; / but, if he cannot, it is surely best / to touch and hold a lovely woman's breast, / and to caress her warm round hips and thighs, / and to possess that which between them lies"<sup>264</sup>.

In his epigrams Bhartṛhari speaks clearly about duty, love and renunciation. His thoughts in *nīti*, *śṛṅgāra* and *vairāgya* are illustrated in the verses representative of the three *śataka-s*:

"The moderate man's virtue is called dullness; the man who lives by rigid vows is considered arrogant; the pure-minded is deceitful; the hero is called unmerciful; the sage is contemptuous; the polite man is branded as servile, the noble man as proud; the eloquent man is called a chatterer; freedom from passion is said to be feebleness. Thus do evil-minded people miscall the virtues of the good" (24, Nīti 54)<sup>265</sup>;

"Snatch a jewel, if it pleases you, from the tiger's<sup>266</sup> ravening throat; / cross the ocean, though its billows toss in foam-wreaths round your boat; / fearless twine an angry cobra like a garland round your head; / but with fools forbear to argue,—better strive to wake the dead" (9, Nīti 4)<sup>267</sup>;

<sup>261</sup> D. D. KOSAMBI, *The Quality ... op. cit.*, p. 50; A. B. Keith, HSL 178, p. 346–7.

<sup>262</sup> In his German translation of the *Daśakumāracarita*, p. 1ff.

<sup>263</sup> *Vairāgya-śataka* 39 (BhŚ 172); C. H. TAWNEY's translation, p. 70.

<sup>264</sup> *Śṛṅgāra-śataka* 19 (BhŚ 88), J. BROUGH's translation in his *Poems from the Sanskrit Literature*, no. 167. The same idea is also expressed in a well-known epigram from the *Śṛṅgāra-śataka* 53 (BhŚ 85): "Why make words unnecessarily; / you can attain pleasures in two ways: / either rejoice in the company of young damsels, / or enjoy peace and tranquility by retiring into a forest". (Translation from German by SUBHADRA JHA, in his translation of M. WINTERNITZ's *GIL III*, 1, p. 156).

<sup>265</sup> Rev. B. HALE WORTHAM's translation.

<sup>266</sup> Literally "alligator's".

<sup>267</sup> C. H. TAWNEY's translation.

"No! don't! she says at first, while she despises / the very thought of love; then she reveals / a small desire; and passion soon arises, / shyly at first, but in the end she yields. / With confidence then playing without measure / love's sacred game, at last no more afraid / she spreads her legs wide in her boundless pleasure. / Ah, love is lovely with a lovely maid" (124, *Śṛṅgāra* 25)<sup>268</sup>;

"As long as we do not see her, our only wish is to have a glance of her handsome person; but when this simple wish is gratified we are anxious to have her body in our loving embrace. However when that boon is also granted we pray God that He may be gracious enough never to part us asunder but to keep our bodies inseparably closed to one another!" (122, *Śṛṅgāra* 23)<sup>269</sup>;

"Pleasure is like the lightning that flashes in the canopy of cloud; life is like the fleeting clouds that are torn asunder by the storm; the ardent desires of the young are transitory. O wise man! you who know the uncertainty of human affairs, gain wisdom by meditation on the Supreme Spirit; for perfection is easily gained by means of constant contemplation" (178, *Vairāgya* 54)<sup>270</sup>;

"A man who has the world for his wide bed, / his arm for his pillow and the sky for tent, / the pleasant wind to fan him, overhead / bright moon for lamplight and his calm content / his consort—were it not he lacked one thing, / life's anxious fear, would sleep like any king" (190, *Vairāgya* 77)<sup>271</sup>.

The verses of the *śṛṅgāra-śataka* (particularly the first verse of the *śṛṅgāra-śataka* quoted above) are passionate and sensuous. Some critics of Bhartṛhari decried them as obscene, but such verses are characteristic of the whole erotic Sanskrit literature which did not see anything objectionable in this type of stanzas; they are like most verses of Amaruka with whom Bhartṛhari was often compared. But while Amaruka is more personal in his description of the emotion of love without connecting it with the larger aspects of life, Bhartṛhari is more preoccupied with life itself and women as factors of life. Amaruka's poetry is perhaps more real, but Bhartṛhari has more genuine feeling<sup>272</sup>. Both were great Sanskrit poets.

Other works were also ascribed to Bhartṛhari, viz. the *Viṭavṛtta*<sup>273</sup>, the *Vijñānaśataka*<sup>274</sup>, the *Rāhatakāvya* and a *Rāmāyaṇa* of 22 stanzas. The first poem contains 84 and the second 103 detached verses. However, these works were not written by Bhartṛhari, the author of the *Śatakatrāyaṇi*. The verses do not show any poetical value<sup>275</sup> and they were never quoted in anthologies, while

<sup>268</sup> J. BROUGH's translation.

<sup>269</sup> P. G. NATH's translation.

<sup>270</sup> Rev. B. HALE WORTHAM's translation.

<sup>271</sup> J. BROUGH's translation.

<sup>272</sup> Cf. S. K. DE, *Ancient Indian Erotics and Erotic Literature*, op. cit., p. 34ff.

<sup>273</sup> MS. Madras Or. MSS. Library, no. D 11983 in BhŚ 206–11. Cf. Introduction to BhŚ, p. 67–8.

<sup>274</sup> Published in Nagpur in 1897 and in BhŚ, p. 212–225; cf. Introduction to BhŚ, p. 67–8.

<sup>275</sup> E.g. "The thousand-rayed sun at the time of the rise becomes capable of being seen (without injury); when excessively attached whom and when will women not reduce to insignificance?" (*Viṭavṛtta* 12); or "God Śiva is indifferent (towards the welfare of the people); numerous good families are attached to quarrels and sports; common people are made servants (of invaders); divine

most of Bhartṛhari's verses are found in some *subhāṣita-saṃgraha*. They were either written by another Bhartṛhari, or attributed to the great poet.

Bhartṛhari's *Śatakatraya* has had many imitators. Some of them have written more ornate verses in *kāvya* style but they never attained the height of Bhartṛhari's poetry.

An imitation of the *Vairāgya-śataka* is Śilhaṇa's Śāntiśataka, a collection of 104 verses<sup>276</sup> written in a variety of metres and divided into 4 *pariccheda-s*. The only critical edition by K. Schönfeld<sup>277</sup> divided the Śāntiśataka into two groups, viz. in 104 original verses mentioned above and 18 doubtful and not original verses. A great part of the verses of the Śāntiśataka were either borrowed from, or were imitations of, the *Vairāgya-śataka* of Bhartṛhari<sup>278</sup> (28 verses). In addition one verse<sup>279</sup> is identical with Śrī-Harṣa's Nāgānanda, one with Bilhaṇa-kāvya<sup>280</sup> and one with the Hitopadeśa<sup>281</sup>. That does not mean, however, that the Śāntiśataka is nothing but a compilation of verses. It is rather a genuine composition by Śilhaṇa who borrowed some stanzas from Bhartṛhari's *Vairāgya-śataka*<sup>282</sup>. Śilhaṇa usually did not quote the borrowed verses word by word from the original but often altered them by changing a few words to make the verse, when necessary, conform with his faith, for while Bhartṛhari was a Śivaist, Śilhaṇa was a Viṣṇuist. Even if Śilhaṇa did not borrow directly, he followed the spirit of Bhartṛhari's *Vairāgya-śataka* and he was undoubtedly greatly influenced by his thinking. The Śāntiśataka was quite popular and a great number of Śilhaṇa's verses were quoted in *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* and in the *alaṃkāra-s*.

Who Śilhaṇa was and when he lived is not known. He must have made his verses after Bhartṛhari (but probably not before the 7th century) and before the beginning of the 13th century, since some of his stanzas were included in the dated Saduktikaṇāmṛta (1205)<sup>283</sup>. He probably came from Kaśmīr (as his name

Gaṅgā is occupied on both banks by foreign invaders; tell me, good hero, how and where is one to be free from fear?" (Vijñānaśataka 65).

<sup>276</sup> Different MSS. contain additionally 18 verses.

<sup>277</sup> The Śāntiśataka was very often published in India, in Calcutta in 1817, 1838, 1863, 1872, 1884, 1896, 1911, 1913, 1914, in Ajmir in 1904, in Bombay in 1864 (by Haridas Hirachand), in KSH 410-29, KSG 2, p. 278-332, in Neetisunkhulun 51-91, Śatakāvali (by Vidyāratna), p. 21-46, etc. The only critical edition is by K. SCHÖNFELD (Das Śāntiśataka. Mit Einleitung, kritischem Apparat, Übersetzung und Anmerkungen . . ., Leipzig 1910). Cf. JRAS 1911, p. 257 ff. (A. B. KEITH's review of Schönfeld's edition), HC VII, 5548-54.

<sup>278</sup> I, 1, 3, 4, 7, 8, 12, 13, 18, 22; II, 3, 9, 12, 13; III, 3, 25; IV, 2, 7, 8, 11, 14, 19, 24, 25; annex 1, 7, 10, 13, 14.

<sup>279</sup> II, 19 = Nāgānanda 4, 2.

<sup>280</sup> II, 5 = Bilhaṇa-kāvya 58.

<sup>281</sup> II, 23 = Hitopadeśa 4, 87.

<sup>282</sup> For other views see K. SCHÖNFELD, op. cit., p. 23 and A. B. KEITH's review, op. cit. (JRAS 1911), p. 257-260.

<sup>283</sup> He is, however, not quoted in the Subhāṣitaratnakoṣa, an anthology which contains a great number of identical verses; that makes it probable that Śilhaṇa lived between 1130 and 1205.

shows), but was active in Bengal<sup>284</sup>. His name is spelt differently—Śilhaṇa, Śihlaṇa, Silhaṇa, Sihlaṇa and even Bilhaṇa. Particularly in the Padyaracanā of Lakṣmaṇa Bhaṭṭa Āṅkolakara several of the verses found in the Śāntiśataka are ascribed to Bilhaṇa, which is another proof for the hypothesis<sup>285</sup> that Bilhaṇa was identical with Śilhaṇa. Although Śilhaṇa's poetry is inferior to Bhartṛhari's in his *Vairāgya-śataka*, it still has substantial poetical merit. It is purely didactic and ascetic and the theme of the vanity of existence is repeated time and again, often in a monotonous way. To illustrate Śilhaṇa's poetry the following verse may be quoted:

"I do not desire in the least with my present sense of understanding deer-eyed damsels. I do not aspire for heaven even for a moment, for one has always fear to lose it. I have also no longing for other things, the enjoyment of which is perishable, but I only intensely desire to meditate at the feet of Viṣṇu on the sandy bank of the Holy River"<sup>286</sup>.

Bhartṛhari's *śataka-s* also served as a model for many later works of which only a few are mentioned here:

Dhanadarāja's *Śatakatrāyam*, which is divided into *śṛṅgāra-*, *nīti-* and *vairāgya-śataka-s*, consists of 103, 103 and 108 stray verses. Dhanadarāja, son of Dehala, composed his work in 1434 A. D. His poetry is inferior to that of Bhartṛhari<sup>287</sup>. The following verse from his *śṛṅgāra-śataka* (103) may be quoted here:

"Do the charming-eyed women censure the moon (the repository of nectar) ? Do they take to the sandal (born in the Malaya forest) ? Do they avoid the Malaya breeze and abandon their natural courage ? Do they indeed lament, get frightened of the songs of the cuckoos and swoon even on cushions fashioned by tender leaves ? Tell me what is the cause of all those!"

Janārdanabhaṭṭa's *Śṛṅgāra-śataka* and *Vairāgya-śataka* are composed of 101 stray verses<sup>288</sup> each, many of which are erotic. A stanza from the *Śṛṅgāra-śataka* (14) may serve as an example:

"High are the breasts, very slim the waist, deep is the navel and still higher are her rounded hips; my mind is sunk in the charming body of the sweet-eyed one, full of ups and downs; and it does not come back to me again".

Narahari's *Śṛṅgāra-śataka*<sup>289</sup> (there are many Naraharis and it is not known which Narahari was the author of this work) is a collection of 115 stray verses.

Appayya Dikṣita's *Vairāgya-śataka*<sup>290</sup>, a collection of 101 stray verses, is the

<sup>284</sup> For other views see A. B. KEITH, op. cit., p. 258.

<sup>285</sup> Th. AUFRECHT in the Bodleian Catalogue, pointed out that the name of Bilhaṇa is also quoted as Silhaṇa or Cilhaṇa.

<sup>286</sup> Śāntiśataka, 21. Subhāṣita-ratna-bhāṇḍāgāra 371, 105; Subhāṣita-sudhā-ratna-bhāṇḍāgāra 267, 107; Subhāṣita-ratnākara 294, 7 and IS 1443.

<sup>287</sup> KM XIII, 33-80.

<sup>288</sup> KM, XI, 157-172 and XIII, 131-44.

<sup>289</sup> KM, XII, 42-60.

<sup>290</sup> KM, I, 91-9.



work of a prolific poet who lived in the second half of the 16th and the beginning of the 17th century. As example of his devotional poetry verse 74 is quoted here:

“The sages control their breath, they do not eat, nor do they drink. Why are they praised by good people? They are not moved by the sight of gold”<sup>291</sup>.

The Bhāminivilāsa of Paṇḍitarāja Jagannātha<sup>292</sup> has also something in common with Bhartṛhari's Śatakatrāya. It is divided into four parts (*vilāsa-s*) which deal with *nīti* (from 100 to 130 verses<sup>293</sup>), *śrīṅgāra* (from 101 to 184 verses), with the glorification of Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu (*vairāgya*; 31–46 verses), and it also contains an elegy to the deceased wife (18–19 verses). The text is different in several manuscripts and it is not known which verses were written by Jagannātha and which are interpolations; at least one-fourth of them are of doubtful origin. The poet probably lived in the 17th century and was also the author of some *stotra-s*, the Avaśiṣṭānyokti, some lyrical works and *kāvya-s*. According to tradition, he named his work after his wife Bhāminī who died during his life-

<sup>291</sup> Of the other works based on Bhartṛhari's Śatakatrāya the Prākṛit collection of 400 *gāthā-s* called the Rasiapaṇsana by Vairocana, a Buddhist author, may be mentioned (cf. Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal 6 (1910), p. 167–178).

<sup>292</sup> Published many times: in Saṃskṛta Press, Calcutta 1862; in Ārṣa Press, Vizagapatam 1870; in Kāvyaaprakāśa Press, Calcutta 1872; in Saṅgbāda Jñānaratnākara Press, Calcutta 1872 (1929); in Ārṣa Press, Vizagapatam 1880; in Venkaṭeśvara Press, Bombay 1883 (1940); in Gujarat Printing Press, Bombay 1887; in Bhārati Press, Bombay 1887 (with the gloss by Lakṣmaṇa Rāmacandra Vaidya); in Amar Press, Benares 1890; in the Grantha-ratna-mālā, Vol. IV, Bombay 1890; in Sītārāma-nilaya Press, Godavari 1899 (in Telugu characters); in Bhārata-mitra Press, Calcutta 1903; in the Ārya-bhūṣaṇa Press, Poona 1903; in the Dhanamjaya Press, Cawnpore 1904, etc. The most popular Indian edition is in the Paṇḍitarāja-kāvya-saṃgraha ed., by A. SHARMA, in the Sanskrit Academy Series no. 2, Hyderabad 1958. The first European translation is into Greek by Demetrios GALANOS, Ἰνδικῶν Μεταφράσεων Πρώτομος, Ἀθῆναι 1845; others: the third book with the German translation by P. v. BOHLEN, Leipzig 1840; A. HOEFER with a German translation, in Indische Gedichte; A. BERGAIGNE, text and translation into French, Paris 1872; V. HENRY, partial edition with French translation, Paris 1885; English translations and editions by S. M. PARANJPE, Poona 1895; by Har Dutt SHARMA, in POS 50 (critical edition with notes, recommended). Cf. R. B. ATHAVALE, New Light on the Life of Paṇḍitarāja Jagannātha, in ABORI 48–9, p. 415–20; S. K. DE, Jagannātha's Classification of Kāvya, in Hiriyanna Commemoration Volume, p. 12–4; G. V. DEVASTHALI, Jagannātha Paṇḍita alias Umānanandanātha, in C. K. RĀJA Commemoration Volume, p. 271–284; P. K. GODE, The Tradition about Liaison of Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja with a Muslim Lady—is it a Myth?, in BhV 6, 1, p. 57–62; idem, The Influence of Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja on Some Deccani Authors of the 17th century, in Journal of the Mythical Society 33, 1, p. 29–37; G. GUPTA, Paṇḍitarāja Jagannātha, in Tripathaga (Lucknow) 8, 10, p. 33–6; S. L. KATRE, Jagannāthapaṇḍita and Raghunātha-paṇḍita . . . , in the Proceedings of the 17th All-India Conference 34 and in Vikram. 2 (1958), p. 226–31; cf. also Introduction to A. SHARMA's work, op. cit.

<sup>293</sup> Mostly *anyokti-s*.

time. The style and the vocabulary of his verses are generally excellent and the verses are charming and souple. Some stanzas on *nīti* and *śṛṅgāra* deserve quoting<sup>294</sup>

“From the lips of the wise words do not come out rashly, but if once they come out they are never retracted like tusks of elephants” (Nīti I, 64);

and

“O golden-bodied one, if you buy the lives of men by giving (them) your limbs it is but proper; but it is not at all proper if you do so by giving them only the corner of your lotus-like eye (i.e. glance from the corner)” (Śṛṅgāra II, 92).

An interesting Jainistic collection<sup>295</sup> of 922 stray verses, possibly influenced by Bhartṛhari, is Amitagati's Subhāṣita-ratna-saṃdoha<sup>296</sup>, which is probably from the 10th century. It is divided into 32 chapters, each of which deals with a special subject. Each chapter is, as a rule, written in the same metre, but different from the preceding chapter. In this work the author expounds the entire ethics of the Digambara Jainas, gives rules on ethics for monks and laymen and condemns all aspects of Brahmanism. It is an important work on Jaina ethics. The chapters deal, among others, with anger, arrogance, deceit, greed, carnal pleasure, the defects of women, truth, wisdom, family, old age, death, instability, *karman*, the villain and the good man, warnings of drinking, eating meat and honey, love and paid love, gambling, etc.<sup>297</sup>. Amitagati's style

<sup>294</sup> In the translation of Har Dutt SHARMA, in POS 50, op. cit.

<sup>295</sup> Jainistic didactic works are numerous; they are treated in the Chapter on Jainistic Literature. Cf. L. STERNBACH, On some non-canonical *subhāṣita*-collections in Jaina Literature in the Commemoration Volume: Mahavīra and his Teaching, Bombay 1974.

<sup>296</sup> Critically edited and translated into German by R. SCHMIDT, in ZDMG 59 and 61 and issued separately in Leipzig 1908. Also in KM, 82 (cf. ZDMG 59, p. 578; WZKM 17, p. 105).

<sup>297</sup> Cf. P. PETERSON, Report 1884-6, p. 11; R. G. BHANDARKAR, Report 1884-7, p. 13. Amitagati wrote also the Yogasāra, a didactic poem in *śloka-s* containing mostly moral Jainistic instructions in 9 chapters; an ethical poem the Dvātriṃśa-tikā; and a direct attack on Brahmanism—the Dharmaparīkṣā. Probably basing himself on the Subhāṣita-ratna-saṃdoha of Amitagati, Hemacandra wrote in 1236 A. D. the Yogaśāstra (the first four chapters) which contains didactic teachings (cf. P. PETERSON, Report 1882-3, p. 65ff. and VIJAYADHARMA SŪRI, in Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal 6 (1910), p. 267ff.); also Jinadatta Sūri (1075-1154 A. D.) wrote didactic Jainistic poems: the Upadeśarasāyana Rāsa, the Kāla-svarūpakulakam and the Caccari. At the end of the 12th century Somaprabha (or Somaprabhā-ācāra, or -sūri), pupil of Vijayasimha, wrote the Kumārapālā-pratibodha, a didactic poem and collection of tales in Prakrit, Sanskrit and Apabhraṃśa; it deals with five Jainistic commandments and duties. Among others, he was also the author of the Sūktimuktāvalī or Sindūraprakara, a collection of 99 popular wise sayings and moral duties appropriate for Jainas and praising Jainas; this work was very popular and many sayings were and still are known by heart by many men and women of the Jainistic community (edited in KM, VII, p. 35-51 and translated by P. E. PAVOLINI, in SIFI II, p. 33-72. Cf. R. MITRA, Notices on Sanskrit MSS., Calcutta 1884, no. 2420, p. 177; A. WEBER, Hand-

is generally ascetic, harsh and severe and his comparisons are **not** original. Here are some examples of his didactic verses:

“In one birth (alone) worry is caused by enemies and snakes, but in a hundred births (occasions) worry is caused by love; great men with their discriminating mind, pondering over this will get at once rid of the enemy—love” (23, 24 = 594);

and

“How can this excellent (man) love this courtesan in whose service even the best man who comes from a good family becomes a slave, even if he is honoured by all men and even if he is (otherwise) sensible” (24, 8 = 602).

To another group of didactic poetry consisting of stray verses, as *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* composed by a single author, also belongs Sundarapāṇḍya's Nīdviṣaṣṭikā. According to tradition the poet of this very popular collection of 115 to 120 stanzas in *āryā* metre<sup>298</sup> was a great scholar, a native from Madurai, who lived around 650 A. D. and who was quoted by Śrī Śaṅkara. However, the analysis of this work has shown<sup>299</sup> that it is a compilation of didactic verses by a

schriften Verzeichniss II, 3, p. 1132; R. G. BHANDARKAR, Report for 1882–83, p. 42 and 225; cf. Indian Antiquary 11, p. 254.) Other Jainistic didactic poems were written later (1276 A. D.), viz. by another Somaprabha, the Śṛṅgāravairāgyatarāṅgiṇī (a short collection of 46 erotic and ascetic verses, being diatribes against women), edited in KM, V, p. 142ff. and translated into German by R. SCHMIDT in his Liebe und Ehe in Indien, p. 36ff.; (see also V. DEVASTHALI, Somaprabhācārya-viracita-śṛṅgāra-vairāgya-taraṅgiṇī in Oriental Thought, Nasik, 5.1); by Muni-candra Sūri, the Gāthākośa in Prakrit of the 12th century (cf. P. PETERSON, Three Reports, p. 12; 297); by Cāritrasundara, the Śīladūta, being an imitation of Kālidāsa's Meghadūta from 1420 A. D. (ed. in YJG, no. 18; cf. F. BELLONI FILIPPI, in GSAI 28, p. 153ff.); by Samayasundara, the Gāthāśahasrī (cf. P. PETERSON, Three Reports, p. 33ff. and 284); the Bhāvavairāgyaśataka, a collection of 100 stray verses on the vanity of existence (edited and translated by L. P. TESSITORI, in GSAI 22, p. 179ff. and 24, p. 405ff.). Of didactic and satiric genre is the Dhūrtākhyāna of Haribhadra Sūri which contains humorous satiric stories of rogues.

Also in the Buddhist literature we find many didactic and gnostic collections of stray verses, e.g. the well known Dhammapada. Candragomin's Śiṣyalekha-dharmakāvya (ed. by I. P. MINAYEFF, in Zapiski IV), Śāntideva's Bodhicāryāvatāra, Śikṣāsamuccaya, Sūtrasamuccaya, the Subhāṣita-saṃgraha; an anthology of Extracts from Buddhist Works compiled by an unknown author to illustrate the Doctrines of Scholastic and of Mystic (Tantrik) Buddhism, edited by C. BENDALL, in Le Muséon IV, 4, p. 378–402 and V, p. 6–46 and 245–274; the Subhāṣitarānakaraṇḍakathā of Āryaśūra (mentioned above); Dharmasamuccaya of Avalokita-siṃha (Texte sanscrit édité avec la version tibétaine et les versions chinoises et traduit en français par LIN-KOUANG); vol. II et III avec revision de A. BAREAU, J. W. DE JONG et P. DEMIÉVILLE, Paris 1946, 1969, 1973 and others.

<sup>298</sup> Nīdviṣaṣṭikā by Sundarapāṇḍya, edited by Pt. SURYANARĀYAṆA TĪRTHA and V. PRABHĀKARA ŚĀSTRĪ and published by K. MĀRKAṆDEYA ŚARMAṆA, 1928; cf. M. G. NAHARI, A new Version of Nīdviṣaṣṭikā of Sundarapāṇḍya and Another important MS. of Nīdviṣaṣṭikā, in ALB 10, p. 133–8 and 263 respectively. Some verses of the Nīdviṣaṣṭikā were translated in BhJ XIV, 1, p. 95–96 and XIV, 2, p. 23–24.

<sup>299</sup> L. STERNBACH, An Additional Note on Sundarapāṇḍya's Nīdviṣaṣṭikā, in JGJRI 25, p. 333–365.

Sundarapāṇḍya who could not have lived before the ninth or the beginning of the tenth century A. D. (since we find in this collection a verse from the Praśnot-taratnamālā) and after the 14th century, the probable date of the Sūkti-ratnahāra in which he is often quoted. His verses are mostly didactic, as for instance verse 85:

“Having secured a little power and wealth a bad person generally becomes proud; having secured very great wealth and power a good person attains tranquillity”.

A characteristic feature of gnostic and didactic poetry is the specific construction of some collections of stray verses. Such collections form a dialogue between two people or two animals, e.g. husband and wife (e.g. the Siddhāntasudhātāṇi of Rāmacandrāgamī), or two lovers (e.g. Vidyāsundara of Cau-rakavi), Śuka and Rambhā (e.g. Śṛṅgārajñānanirṇaya), Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī (e.g. Lakṣmīsarasvatīvivāda), a young lady and a recluse (e.g. Madanamukhacapeṭikā), or a hog and a lion (e.g. Ghaṭakarpāra's Nītisāra), etc. Poems in the form of dialogues also appear in other Sanskrit *kāvya-s*, of which the best known is perhaps the dialogue between Śiva and Pārvatī, during dice-play, attributed to Mayūra, as it appears in the Subhāṣitāvalī of Vallabha (123-9).

Didactic and gnostic poetry written in Sanskrit is very extensive. It does not only consist of straight didactic stanzas but also of allegories (*anyokti-s*) and satyric verses in which the authors either benevolently or harshly and sarcastically ridicule men and their behaviour. Didactic literature is also closely connected with devotional and even erotic genres. Highly sensuous pictorial effects, authenticated by a deep sincerity of ecstatic emotion were often blended and thus helped to create poems full of erotic mysticism, devout yet sensuous. In India worldly wisdom, religious devotion and sensual love (*kāma* as well as *śṛṅgāra*) are often intermingled. The early division of aphorisms and epigrams on worldly wisdom into those dealing with *dharma*, *nīti*, *śṛṅgāra* and *mokṣa* has made a great impression on Sanskrit literature, and by its piquancy *śṛṅgāra* has added further flavour to the entire Sanskrit literature, including even the devotional works. Therefore it is impossible to draw a demarcation line between these types of Indian literature. It might therefore be as correct to include in a survey of didactic and gnostic literature some lyric, erotic and devotional poems as it is warranted to mention some of the works quoted above (in the chapter on “Anthologies”, e.g. Dyā Dviveda's Nītimañjari) or on the other hand to quote some of the didactic and gnostic poets discussed in this chapter under the heading of anthologies.

The following less important poems that are regarded as gnostic and didactic (of different types) may now be mentioned in alphabetical order:

Āmūru Vedavyāsa's Nītisataka is a short poem of 100 stray verses on *nīti* representing the author's observations on nature and the behaviour of good and bad people. The observations are supported by illustrations drawn from mythology, epics, *mahā-kāvya-s*, or nature and every day life. The verses are

written in *anuṣṭubh-s* and the collection is divided into five groups each under a different heading. Well-known *subhāṣita-s* served as a model to the author, but he has shown his originality both in thought and expression. He exhibited first-hand knowledge of the Mahābhārata, the Rāmāyaṇa and the Purāṇa-s and he liked to employ some unfamiliar words<sup>300</sup> and puns. The poem dates from the first half of the 19th century<sup>301</sup>.

Bhallaṭa's Śataka (Bhallaṭaśataka) is a poem containing 108 stray didactic and descriptive verses written in a variety of metres and in a satirical tone, often ridiculing indiscriminating patrons<sup>302</sup>. Not all stanzas were composed by Bhallaṭa himself, since we find some among them which were probably written by Ānandavardhana, a poet from Kāśmīr. Bhallaṭa himself was also a Kāśmīri poet who lived at the time of king Śaṅkaravarman (883–902). Many of his verses were quoted in *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* and *alaṃkāra-s*<sup>303</sup>. An example of his poetry is the following verse (58; also in VS. 986):

“O you low-born dust! Since your birth, have you ever done even an atom of good at any time? Come, tell the truth! The purpose for which that rogue of a wind—the charioteer of fire—has raised you, fulfils the same: make the world dirty”.

Bhavabhūti's Guṇaratna, a short poem of 13 stray verses in a variety of metres, which is, probably wrongly, attributed to the great poet Bhavabhūti<sup>304</sup>. Most of its verses were culled from other poems such as the Hitopadeśa (verses 3, 8, 12), the Pañcatantra (verses 5, 9) the so-called Cāṇakya's sayings (verses 6, 11), the Skanda-purāṇa (verse 7) and the Mālatīmādhava (verse 1) and one verse also occurs in the Dṛṣṭāntaśataka (verse 13). Very few verses in the Guṇaratna were not borrowed from known sources. Probably this collection of stray verses was ascribed to Bhavabhūti because its first verse is the first (in some editions the second) introductory verse of Bhavabhūti's Mālatīmādhava. Only verses 2, 4 and 10 of the Guṇaratna do not appear in other primary sources of which verse 5 was probably very popular in India in early times since it also appears in the literature of Tibet: in Vararuci's Śatagāthā (4) (Mchog sred, Tshigs-su bead-pa brgya-pa) included in the Tibetan Tanjur, and also in the She-rab Dong-bu (150) and the Subhāṣita-ratna-nidhi (4, 14). The verse says:

<sup>300</sup> E.g. *sudh-audana-dru* and *amara-agama* for *kalpavṛkṣa*.

<sup>301</sup> The MS., of which the first folia are missing, was published by S. RITTER, in JOB (Madras) 29, p. 108–25.

<sup>302</sup> KM, IV, 169–188; Bhallaṭaśataka-vyākhyā by Vāsudevācārya, in Madras Sanskrit Series, no. 2. Cf. V. RAGHAVAN, The Bhallaṭaśataka in the Annals of the Śrī Veṅkaṭeśvara Oriental Institute, I, 1.

<sup>303</sup> Cf. Th. AUFRECHT, in ZDMG 41, p. 488; H. V. JACOBI, in ZDMG 56, p. 405; P. PETERSON, in JBRAS 16, p. 167. Cf. JRAS (1897), p. 290.

<sup>304</sup> KSH 523–5; KSG 1, 299–305. Kāvyaakalāpa I, 7–8; SKSD 10–11; KRSS 27–31. Cf. HC VII, 5072. Cf. fn. 329 below.

“Who is meritorious himself knows the merits of others, but not the one who is not meritorious; the strong one knows the strength of others, but not the weakling; the *kokila*-bird knows the merits of the spring, but not the crow; the elephant knows the strength of the lion, but not the mouse”.

Bhoja's Cārucaryā, a collection of 135 stray verses, mostly *śloka-s*, deals with daily routine, good conduct and activity in one's daily occupation<sup>305</sup>.

Dakṣiṇāmūrti's Lokoktimuktāvalī is a collection of 94 devotional verses and wise sayings, composed in a variety of metres and divided into six *paddhati-s*. Each stanza is composed of two parts; the first proclaiming a truth and the second containing an argumentation or corroboration reinforcing the truth or an example illustrating it. Dakṣiṇāmūrti probably lived between 1450 and 1600 A. D.<sup>306</sup>. Verse 26 is characteristic for the collection:

“To those who enjoy the essence of supreme bliss, cultivation of the *śāstra-s* is o no use; are we to enjoy the eating of the flattened cake or are we to be counting the holes in it?”

Ghaṭakarpara's Nitisāra, a collection of 21 stray verses written in a variety of metres, has the form of a dialogue between a hog and a lion and contains mostly wise sayings culled from other poems, particularly from the Hitopadeśa (verses 8, 10, 13, 20, 21), the so-called Cāṇakya's sayings (verses 1, 7, 13, 16, 17, 19), the Mahābhārata (verse 4) and one verse (14) also occurs in the Dharmaviveka<sup>307</sup>. Ghaṭakarpara is also the reputed author of a collection of 23 stray verses, called the Ghaṭakarpara-kāvya (also called Yamaka-kāvya). This poem mostly deals with the pangs of separation of a love-stricken lady who speaks to the clouds and asks them to convey her message to her husband; that means that it is a *dūta-kāvya*<sup>308</sup>. It has also been ascribed to Kālidāsa. When Ghaṭa-

<sup>305</sup> Published for the first time on the basis of 3 MSS. by V. RAGHAVAN, in his *Malamārutaḥ II*, Tirupati 1971, p. 79-95.

<sup>306</sup> KM, XI, 78-91; translated into Italian by CARLO DELLA CASA, in *Atti delle Scienze di Torino* 102, p. 1-28. Cf. fn. 329 below.

<sup>307</sup> KSH 504-6; KSG 1, 378-80; also in the *Kāvya-kālāpa* (1864), SKSD (1869 and 1874).

<sup>308</sup> The Ghaṭakarpara-kāvya was critically edited with extracts from commentaries by J. B. CHAUDHURI, in his *Dūta-kāvya-saṃgraha* 6 in Calcutta 1953; other editions are: in the *Sanskrit Laesebog med tilhørende ordsamling* af N. L. WESTERGAARD (1846), 83-96; in *Kāvya-kālāpa* (1864), 98-100; in KSH 120-24; in KSG 1, 357-66; in *Sarasvatī-vilāsa* Press, Narsinghpur 1908, in SKSD (1896), 35-9, in *Veṅkaṭeśvara* Press, Bombay 1892 (1949); in the *Kāśmīr Sanskrit Series* 57, Srinagar 1945; by L. C. GAYZEL (*Kālidāsa*; ascribed to Kālidāsa), Colombo 1961 (with an English translation). Translations were numerous into French, English, German and Hindi. The oldest translation with commentary is by G. M. DURSCH, Berlin 1828. Cf. Ch. VAUDEVILLE, A Note on the Ghaṭakarpara and the Meghadūta, in JOIB 9, 2, p. 125-34 and in *Proceedings of the All-India Conference* 20, 2, p. 37-48; C. N. JOSHI, A MS. of Ghaṭakarpara-kāvya with a new Commentary, in BhV 6, p. 49-57; S. L. KATRE, Ghaṭakarpara Problem in *Vikrama* Volume, p. 177-98; cf. Ghaṭakarpara and *Pūrvaghaṭakarpara* quoted by Rāyamukūṭa, in ZDMG 28, p. 112; S. K. RAMACHANDRA RAO, A Forgotten Sanskrit Poet, in the *Aryan Path*, March 1960, p. 115-8. Cf. fn. 329.

karpara lived is not known. By tradition, he was considered one of the nine jewels at the court of Vikramāditya, but it is not certain whether he was the author of both the Nitisāra and the *kāvya*, nor whether he really was a contemporary of Vikramāditya. The following verse illustrates the didactic style of the Nitisāra (18):

“What was done once does not need to be done again; who died once does not need to die again; one should not worry about the past; so think those who know the Veda-s”.

Govardhanācārya's Āryāsaptasatī is a collection of 202 erotic stray verses in *āryā* metre arranged in *vrājya-s* by their initial letters<sup>309</sup>. The following verse (148) is an example:

“My mind says one thing: that I am not to go (to meet the lover at the rendez-vous), but the other heart says another thing that I should go. Charming girl, these two hearts are befitting you, as you have captivated the heart of your lover (and thus possesses two of them)”.

Gumāṇi Pant left two poems, the Gumāṇi-nīti and the Upadeśasataka. Gumāṇi was born in 1790 and wrote in Sanskrit, Kumaunī and Hindī. The Gumāṇīsataka is a very popular work in the North of India<sup>310</sup>. It is a collection of 71 stray stanzas one line of which contains a proverb in Hindi or Kumaunī and three lines of which describe some situation which aptly illustrates the proverb in poetical Sanskrit. The illustrations are mostly based on the Mahābhārata or the Rāmāyaṇa. Gumāṇi used unusual metres<sup>311</sup>. As an illustration serves the translation of verse 26:

“The boa has not to beg for his food, nor has the snake to build a house; the bird has to serve none for wages. ‘God gives all to all’”<sup>312</sup>.

The Upadeśasataka<sup>313</sup> is a collection of 102 stray verses in *āryā* metre, in which, similarly as in the Gumāṇi-nīti, each epigram is proclaimed in one part of the verse and illustrated with a well-known episode from Sanskrit literature in the second part, particularly from the Mahābhārata, the Harivaṃśa, the Rāmāyaṇa, the Bhāgavata-purāṇa, etc. As example the following verse can serve (37):

<sup>309</sup> KM, I; KSG 1, 1–276. Also edited by S. MOOKERJEE, Dacca 1921 (1864) and in Ārṣa Press, Vizagapatam 1871. Cf. S. K. DE, Bengal's Contribution to Sanskrit literature, in Indian Studies Past and Present 1, 4, p. 643–4; cf. HC VII, 5149–50. Govardhana lived in the 12th century and, as mentioned before, his Āryāsaptasatī (as well as other similar poems) were modelled on the Sattasatī.

<sup>310</sup> C. A. GRIERSON, The Gumāṇi Nīti, in Indian Antiquary (1909), p. 177 (cf. also of 1895, p. 124) idem, Curiosities of Indian Literature in IA (1888), p. 239–240; and G. A. GRIERSON, Linguistic Survey of India 9, 5, p. 111.

<sup>311</sup> E.g. verse 16 composed in each part of 7 long syllables, or verse 19 composed in each part of 4 short and then 5 long syllables.

<sup>312</sup> In Indian Antiquary (1909), op. cit.

<sup>313</sup> KM, II, p. 20–8; translated into Italian by O. BOTTO, in Rivista degli Studi Orientali 27, p. 93–110.

“Causing the death of Ghaṭotkaca (a son of the family) through Karna releasing the infallible *śakti*-weapon of Indra, the Pāṇḍava-s saved their own lives; (hence) one should save one’s own life at any cost”.

Halāyudha’s Dharmaviveka is a short collection of 20 stray verses, mostly sententious and culled from other sources, in a variety of metres. As is evident from verse 6 Halayudha flourished at the court of Lakṣmaṇasena at the end of the 12th century (?)<sup>314</sup>. The following verse is an example (9):

“Rice and millet grow on the same field; they have the same leaves and stems, but in the fruit lies the difference”.

Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja’s Āśvadhātī<sup>315</sup> is a gnostic and devotional poem of 70 stray verses, all in *mattebha* metre<sup>316</sup>.

Jalhana’s Mugdhopadeśa, a collection of 66 stray verses in *śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre<sup>317</sup>, contains warnings against the snares of prostitutes. Jalhana probably knew the Kuṭṭānimata and was influenced by this work. He was also a Kāśmīrian poet and lived in the 12th century. He is not identical with Jalhana, the author of the Sūktimuktāvalī. He does not show any art of expression. The following verse can serve as an example (42):

“The warmth of wealth, fondling by parents, association with sensualists, considering oneself popular, youth, residence in a city, fickleness, attraction to books on erotics, dance and music, night, full moon, intoxication by spirituous beverages, competition with rivals—these render help in depriving a person of his wealth, when he is attached to a harlot”.

Kalya Lakṣmīṇṣimha’s Kavikaumudī<sup>318</sup> is an anthology of *anyokti*-s in two *śataka*-s of 101 and 46 verses respectively composed in a variety of metres. The author, who was the pupil of Ahobala-sudhī, lived in the 18th century. One of his *anyokti*-s is given below (1, 19):

“Don’t be shy and don’t you fear, o rook! / Compete with the cuckoo straight; / in this forest of stupid beasts, / who will find difference?”<sup>319</sup>.

Kṛṣṇavallabha’s Kāvyaabhūṣaṇaśataka, a collection of 103 stray verses composed in a variety of metres, dates from the 18th century<sup>320</sup>. The verses are mostly descriptions of women, as for instance the following verse (83):

<sup>314</sup> In Tattva-vivecaka Press, Bombay 1920. KSH 507–9; KSG 1, 381–8, Kāvyaakalāpa 106–8, SKSD 45–8, KRSS 21–26; cf. HC VII, 5173. There was also a grammarian Halāyudha of the 10th century, not identical with the poet and several other Halāyudha-s. Cf. fn. 329 below.

<sup>315</sup> Published in NSP, Bombay 1878; together with the Campū-Rāmāyaṇa-prārambho ‘yam in Poona 1868 and in SRK, p. 258–70 (partly: 26 verses); the author might not be identical with the author of the Bhāminī-vilāsa, etc. (see above).

<sup>316</sup> Which resembles the sound of horses’ hoofs when they are galloping.

<sup>317</sup> KM, VIII, p. 125–35.

<sup>318</sup> Kavikaumudī of Kalya Lakṣmīṇṣimha, ed. and translated by K. KRISHNA-MOORTHY, Karnatak University, Dharwar 1965.

<sup>319</sup> Translation by Dr. K. KRISHNAMOORTHY.

<sup>320</sup> KM, VI, p. 31–46.



“The splendour of her lower lip heightens the beauty of her smile; the play of the corner of her eyes brings out enthusiastic daring; her glance directed towards the chamber of love-sport is the limit of wantonness; her placing of the foot on the couch is boundless contradiction”.

Kusumadeva's *Drṣtāntaśataka* (or *Drṣtāntakalikā*) is a collection from the 15th century of 100 wise sayings taught in the first line and illustrated by examples in the second line<sup>321</sup>; part of this work is also quoted in the *Subhāṣitā-vali* of Vallabhadeva. In addition to the verse quoted above<sup>322</sup> verse 64 illustrates the style of this collection (also VS 300):

“The force of grief overcomes a low person, but not the superior man. The touch of cold affects the two feet quickly, but not the two eyes”.

Madhusūdana's *Anyāpadeśaśataka*, a collection of 110 stray verses (mostly *anyokti-s*) is composed in a variety of metres<sup>323</sup>. Madhusūdana was the son of Padmanābha Śubhadra and originated from Mithilā.

Mohamudgara, a short poem of 17 to 18 devotional gnostic stray verses in moric metre was, probably wrongly, attributed to Śaṅkara. The stanzas describe the voidness of the universe, and the blessing of mental peace and of knowledge of Viṣṇu. This poem is well known in India, where it was often published<sup>324</sup>; there are several translations in English, as well as in French, German and in Indian languages. The devotional character of the poem is illustrated by the following verse (3):

“Do not boast of youth, wealth, or relatives for they are perishable, and that too within a short time; curb the illusions with which we are surrounded and seriously contemplate Him by Whom all is upheld”<sup>325</sup>.

*Mūrkhaśataka*, an anonymous collection of 25 stray stanzas plus an introductory verse, lists and describes hundred fools<sup>326</sup>.

To Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita we owe the *Anyāpadeśaśataka*, *Kalividambana*, *Sabhāraṇjanaśataka*, *Śāntivilāsa* and *Vairāgyaśataka*, five<sup>327</sup> poems containing stray gnostic, didactic and satirical verses as well as wise sayings of 101, 102,

<sup>321</sup> Ed. in Nababibhakar Press, Calcutta 1916-7 (1323); in Kamalā Press, Cocanada 1926 (in Telugu characters); in KSH 217-26; in KSG 2, 98-115; KM, XIV, p. 77-86; in *Kāvyaśālā* 14-21; in SKSD 226-32; in KRSS (1876) 67-87; Sunīti *Sudhā-nidhi*, compiled by GOVINALĀLA VANDYOPĀDHYĀYA (1898), p. 34ff.; stray verses in VS, p. 287-304 and 306-7.

<sup>322</sup> See above, p. 3-4.

<sup>323</sup> KM, IX, p. 64-79. Cf. JGJRI 8, p. 93-4.

<sup>324</sup> There are over 40 editions of this poem. The most accessible are in KSH 265-8, KSG I, 352-7 and Neetisunkhulun with translation by Maharāja KALEE KRISHEN BAHADUR, Serampore 1831. Cf. M. WINTERNITZ, *GIL* III, p. 149 and *JA* s. 3, t. 12 (1841), p. 607-13.

<sup>325</sup> Translation by Maharāja KALEE KRISHEN BAHADUR.

<sup>326</sup> Cf. HC VII. Nos 5500-1.

<sup>327</sup> Published in KM, VI, p. 143-158; V, p. 132-142; IV, p. 189-98; VI, p. 12-20; and I, p. 91-9 respectively; also in *Oeuvres poétiques de Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita* (text and translation), by P.-S. FILLIOZAT, Institut Français d'Indologie, Pondichéry 1967

105, 51 and 101 verses respectively. The first is in *śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre, the second and third in *anuṣṭubh-s*, the fourth in *mandākrāntā* metre and the last in *upagīti-āryā* metre<sup>328</sup>. Nilakaṇṭha Dikṣita was the son of Nārāyaṇa Dikṣita and grandson of Āccān Dikṣita II, brother of the well-known Appayya Dikṣita. He lived in the 17th century. His works are of unequal value.

The Anyāpadeśaśataka is a collection of *anyokti-s* teaching good conduct; they contain deep thoughts, as for instance:

“Even if the clouds release rain in her, even if the suns burn her, even if the monkeys tie her up by throwing rocks on the way to Laṅka, even if the Gaṅgā and other rivers discharge from all directions their waters in her, even if the moons nourish her every night, if volcanoes plunder her—the Ocean does not agitate, but is calm, does not diminish, does not swell” (51).

The Kaliviḍambana is a satire on various social characters in the family and outside, as well as on quacks, doctors, poetasters, astrologers who will please the sick but with a diet which would be difficult to follow, so that if the patient recovers it would be thanks to the greatness of the astrologer and if the health of the patient would deteriorate it would be due to the non-observance of the diet; other aphorisms contain bitter reflections, as for instance:

“Falsehood and flattery (combined) bring great wealth; truth and learning combined bring poverty” (32).

The Sabhārañjanaśataka is a typical collection of wise sayings:

“Dharma is a confident in love, a master in the search for truth, a soldier on the battlefield, a minister in the acquisition of goods” (81).

The Śāntivilāsa and the Vairāgyaśataka are devotional poems composed of stray verses, of which each advocates renunciation; thus, for instance:

“To learn the Veda-s; thereafter to build one’s home; then to gather wealth; afterwards to offer sacrifices; hereafter to beget children; and lastly to retire

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(see also bibliography, p. 354) and Minor Poems of Nilakaṇṭha Dikṣita, Laghukāvyaṇi, Vani Vilāsa Press, Śrīraṅgam 1911 and ed. by C. SANKARARAMA ŚĀSTRĪ, Bālamānorama Series 35, Madras 1942. The Anyāpadeśaśataka is also published *inter alia* in Tiruvananthapuram in 1902 (in Malayalam characters with translation); the Kaliviḍambana in Lakṣmivilāsa Press, Madras 1859 (in Telugu characters); in Jaganmitra Press, Ratnagiri 1878 (with a Marāṭhī translation); in the Vidyāniketana Press, Madras 1904 (in Grantha and Tamil characters); in the Veṅkaṭeśvara Press, Bombay 1910 (1967); in the Empress of India Press, Madras 1911 (in Telugu characters); in the Vaidika Vardhini Press, Kumbakonam (in Grantha characters); in the Śāstra Sañjivini Press, Madras 1920 (in Grantha characters with a Tamil translation); in the Grantha-ratnamālā 1888, p. 12ff. etc. The Sabhārañjanaśataka is also published *inter alia* in the Vaidika Vardhini Press, Kumbakonam (in Grantha characters); and in Lakṣmī Vilāsa Press, Madras 1859; the Śāntivilāsa is also published by the Kāmakoṭi Publishing House, Kumbakonam 1943 (with a Tamil translation) and in Sarasvatī-bhāṇḍāgāra Press, Madras 1907.

<sup>328</sup> To Nilakaṇṭha Dikṣita are also attributed other poems.

from this world at the end of one's days—all that was ordained by Manu and Yājñavalkya. For me, at the appropriate time of my life, this will be a supreme order" (Śāntiśataka 39);

"In the morning fools quarrel for assurances good for the next day, but what assurances do we have, as far as our own existence is concerned, for this night?" (Vairāgyasataka 31).

Pañcaratna, Ṣaḍratna, Saptaratna, Aṣṭaratna and Navaratna, short collections of 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9 didactic stray verses in a variety of metres, are all anonymous. The Navaratna was the most popular of these collections and was also incorporated in the Sanskrit literature of Ceylon, and quoted *in extenso* in the Subhāṣitamuktāvali and in the Subhāṣitahārāvali<sup>329</sup>. All these collections of verses, with the exception of the Navaratna, are composed of verses from well known or less known works from which they were culled. They also contain some verses from the floating mass of oral tradition. Verse 2 of the Navaratna is representative of these works:

"Beggars are ever treated with contempt; the licentious are constantly subject to reproach; the ungenerous incessantly defeated; vicious individuals rejoice of the vices of others; the poor ever meet with disappointment; the fickle-minded are ever uneasy; mournful people are most suspicious; obscene talk dishonours a man; and those who are subject to misers, are involved in more distress"<sup>330</sup>.

Pūrvacātakāṣṭaka (also called Cātakāṣṭaka) and Uttarakātakāṣṭaka, two anonymous, medieval short poems are composed of 8 lyric and gnostic stray verses each in different metres. They are dedicated to the *cātaka*-bird<sup>331</sup>, which, according to popular belief, does not drink any other water than the pure liquid of the clouds. The poems are of great artistic beauty and were often edited and translated<sup>332</sup>. Verse 2 of the Pūrvacātakāṣṭaka is representative of both poems:

<sup>329</sup> KSH, p. 1ff.; KSG 1, p. 277ff.; SKSD, p. 5ff.; KRSS, p. 51ff. Also in Neeti-sunkhulun, Kāvyaśālā and Prācīna Padyāvali (1859). Cf. HC VII, 5503. Cf. H. BECHERT, Sanskrit Texte aus Ceylon, I Teil, in Münchener Studien für Sprachwissenschaft . . ., München 1962, p. 25-37. There are also the Padyasamgraha attributed to Kavibhaṭṭa (KSH; p. 529-532), Yatipaṇcaka, Sādhanaṇcaka, Bhramarāṣṭaka and Śṛṅgāraraśaṣṭaka, the last two attributed to Kālidāsa, etc. For details see L. STERNBACH, A propos de petites recueils de vers gnomiques in Papers presented to the XXIX International Congress of Orientalists, Paris, 1973. These short collections of didactic verses, as well as the Guṇaratna, Nītiratna, Nīti-sāra, Nītipradīpa and Dharmaviveka may be considered rather as short *subhāṣita-samgraha-s* than collections of didactic verses attributed to individual poets.

<sup>330</sup> Translation by Maharāja KALEE KRISHN BAHADUR.

<sup>331</sup> *Ocyestes melanoleucos*, known for its shrill cry "sphotik jol" which means in Bengālī "crystal water".

<sup>332</sup> Edited and translated into German by H. EWALD, in ZDMG (1842), p. 366ff.; KSH 237-9 and 240-1; KSG 1, 327-30 and 331-4; SKSD, p. 22-5; KRSS, p. 58-63; Kāvyaśālā 88-90; Prācīna Padyāvali, Calcutta 1859, p. 4ff. Translated into English by E. B. COWELL, in JRAS (1891), p. 599ff.; translated into German also by A. HOEFER, in his Indische Gedichte 2, p. 161ff. Cf. S. STASIAK, Le Cātaka (Étude comparative), in RO 2, p. 33-117.

“The thirsty *cātaka* begs from the cloud three or four drops of water; / and it satisfied him with an abundant stream; wonderful indeed is the generosity of the great”<sup>333</sup>.

Rākṣasa's *Kavirākṣasāya*<sup>334</sup>, a collection of stray didactic verses, can be interpreted in two different ways; it is particularly popular in Southern India. The author is not known; the first verse of this anthology was quoted by Appayya Dikṣita in his *Kuvalayānanda*. Since Appayya Dikṣita lived in the 16th century the work must have been written earlier. A poet Rākṣasa, who is probably not the same man, is also quoted in the *Saduktikarṇāmṛta* (450) and *Śārṅgadharapaddhati* (3810–11)<sup>335</sup>.

Rāmacandra's *Rasikarañjana* is a lyric and gnostic poem of 130 stray verses written in different metres with a commentary without which the poem would be incomprehensible. The poem permits a twofold interpretation in which each verse has an ascetic and an erotic meaning. Rāmacandra, the author, was the son of Lakṣmaṇabhaṭṭa. The poem was written in Ayodhyā in the 16th century (1524)<sup>336</sup>. The following *āryā* verse illustrates the point:

“To me friend, who am idling away the days, the abandoning of pleasures<sup>337</sup> is pleasing for the speedy attainment of the company of the Lord Śrī Kṛṣṇa”;

or

“To me friend, who am idling away the days, when the fortnight of the moon arrived, the untying of the knot of the dress in privacy is pleasing”.

Śambhu's *Anyoktimuktālātā* is a collection of 108 *anyokti*-s, having a double meaning. It is written in *śārdūlavikrīḍita* and *mandākrāntā* metres and ridicules the follies of men. Śambhu lived at the court of king Harṣadeva of Kāśmīr (end of the 11th century) and also wrote the *Rājendrakarṇapūra*, a poem of 75 stray verses, mostly in *śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre, in which he eulogized king Harṣadeva.

<sup>333</sup> COWELL's translation, in *JRAS* (1891), p. 599.

<sup>334</sup> Edited with a commentary by K. C. CHATTERJI and translated by Y. MAHALINGA SASTRI in 1935/36 and published seriatim in *Calcutta Oriental Journal* beginning with Vol. 2. 9. Different from the *Kavirākṣasiya* or *Rākṣasakāvya* attributed to three different authors, sometimes to Kālidāsa, sometimes to Vararuci and sometimes to Ravideva; that poem is a pastoral description in 20 stray verses; it was published often, viz. in *HSS* 73, *Sarasvatī Vilāsa Press*, Narsīnghpur 1908; *Indian Press*, Allahabad 1910 (1966); *Vavilla Press*, Madras 1926; *Sarasvatī-nīlaya Press*, Veṅḡipur 1875; *Parabrahma Press*, s. 1. 1881; in *NSP* 1900 and 1935; *KSG* 3, 343–53; A. HOEFER's *Sanskrit Lesebuch*, p. 86–93 etc. Cf. *HC* VII, 5023–4. See also V. RAGHAVAN, *Some Kavi Rākṣasas, their Identities and Works* in *JOR* (Madras) 19.2 and P. K. GODE, *Date of the Rākṣasa-kāvya of Kāvya-rākṣasa—before 1000 A. D.*, in *JIH* 19, 3, p. 312–9; translated into Italian, in *GSAI* 19, p. 83–102, by F. BELLONI-FILIPPI.

<sup>335</sup> The verses quoted in the two anthologies are not didactic verses.

<sup>336</sup> *KM*, IV, p. 96–149 and ed. by R. SCHMIDT with double readings and German translation, Stuttgart 1896. Cf. R. SCHMIDT, *Liebe und Ehe in Indien*, Berlin 1904, p. 32ff.

<sup>337</sup> Breasts of lovely women.

Many verses of the latter poem were included in the Subhāṣitāvalī of Vallabha-deva<sup>338</sup>. To illustrate Śambhu's poetry, which is heavy and crabbed, verses from the Anyoktimuktālatā (56) and from the Rājendrakarṇapūra (26) are quoted respectively:

"O divine river (Gaṅgā), though born by (married to) him . . ., he who is worshipped by the three worlds, who is adorned with the crescent moon, O foolish one, you go to the sea which is full of harsh salt water, frightful crocodiles and sharks, full of chasms and touching the sky, and the veritable store-house of coolness (dullness); strange indeed are women";

and

"She sees (examines) her own fanciful utterances, learns perfection in the art of speaking, she combines together the wealth of choice words; practises voice culture (in the path of sounds), she creates strikingness in the composition of sentences, in the presence of the preceptor of speech (Bṛhaspati); my Lord, what all efforts does not the Goddess of Speech make in order to describe your virtues (adequately)?"

Śaṅkara's Śataślokī, a gnostic poem of 101 stray verses is written in *sragdharā* metre and deals with the teaching of Vedānta. Whether this poem was really written by Śaṅkara is not certain<sup>339</sup>.

Śrī-kuru-Nārāyaṇa Kavi's Sudarśanaśataka is a gnostic poem of 101 stray verses in *sragdharā* metre<sup>340</sup>.

Śṛṅgārajñānanirṇaya, a short poem of 32 stray verses of unknown authorship, is a dialogue between Śuka and Rambhā<sup>341</sup>, partly erotic (words of Rambhā) and partly theosophical (words of Śuka)<sup>342</sup>. The following dialogue (1) is quoted as an example:

"Rambhā: Vain is the life of this man who, overcome by love, does not hold in his arms a nice girl with a heavy bosom, with the body oiled with sandal and with sparkling eyes. Śuka: Vain is the life of a man who has never formed a clear idea in the bottom of his heart, who has a (universal) soul which is intelligent with inconceivable form which supports the world, which is blissful, pure and made up of light".

Vānarāṣṭaka and Vānaryāṣṭaka, two anonymous didactic poems of 8 verses each, containing *subhāṣita-s* expressed by a monkey and a she-monkey, are

<sup>338</sup> Anyoktimuktālatā in KM, II, p. 61-79; Rājendrakarṇapūra, in KM, I, p. 22-34. Cf. P. PETERSON, First Report 1882-83, p. 11ff.

<sup>339</sup> In Select (or Minor) Works of Śrī Śaṅkara, Madras 1911; Śrīraṅgam 1910, Allahabad 1914; Poona 1925; and in editions in Poona 1917, 1922, Satara 1927, Bombay 1927, etc.

<sup>340</sup> KM, VIII, p. 1-51.

<sup>341</sup> Mentioned above, p. 60.

<sup>342</sup> Edited and translated by J. M. GRANDJEAN, Dialogue de Śuka et Rambhā sur l'amour et science suprême, in Annales du Musée Guimet 10, p. 437ff. See also MS. R. 41 of the University Library of Lyon (op. cit.) which contains the Śukarambhā-saṃvādaḥ.

written in a variety of metres, containing several *subhāṣita-s* that are also known from other sources<sup>343</sup>. Verse 2 of the Vānaryaṣṭaka characterizes both works:

“Constant practice is necessary to secure the acquisition of knowledge; sovereigns are never to be relied upon, even when most propitious, a woman is an object of anxiety even when reposing on the bosom of her husband; knowledge, sovereigns and women cannot be controlled”.

Vañchanātha's Mahiṣaśataka (or Vāñceśvara Mahiṣaśataka), a hundred stray verses extolling the buffalo; the buffalo appears to indicate the young king who is surrounded by evil company and who neglects the learned men of his court<sup>344</sup>. Vañchanātha is probably Kṛṣṇa Kavi whose father held a high post at the court of king Sahāji, ruler of Tanjore from 1684 to 1710. The poem contains a commentary Śleṣārthacandrikā written by the author's grandson.

Vararuci's Nītiratna is a collection of 15 wise sayings written in a variety of metres. Vararuci was probably not the author of this short collection of stray verses which was attributed to him only in *majorem gloriam*. The verses were culled from the collection of the so-called Cāṇakya's sayings (verses 3, 4, 9, 10, 12, 14), the Hitopadeśa (verses 4, 14) and from the floating mass of oral tradition<sup>345</sup>. The well-known *subhāṣita* quoted below is included in this collection (13):

“Black is the crow and black is the (Indian) cuckoo (*kokila*); what is the difference between the cuckoo and the crow? That the crow is the crow and the cuckoo is the cuckoo”.

Vedānta Deśika's (or Vedāntācārya's or Veṅkaṭanātha Deśika's) Subhāṣitanīvi and Vairāgyapañcaka. The first is a popular anthology of 144 stray verses composed in a variety of metres systematically divided into 12 *paddhati-s* of 12 verses each and dealing with pride, wickedness, servitude, nobility, tranquillity, etc. The second consists of five verses in the form of a benevolent satire highlighting the practice of detachment. Some of the verses have a double meaning<sup>346</sup>. The author, who was a Vedānta scholar, probably lived between 1268 and 1376. As an illustration of a verse of the Subhāṣitanīvi with a double meaning serves the following verse (12, 12):

<sup>343</sup> KSH 244–5; 242–3; KSG 1, 321–3; 324–6; in Nītisunkhulun 35–44; Kāvya-kalāpa no. 1; SKSD; KRSS (see fn. 329 above); translated by O. BÖHTLINGK, in his Indische Sprüche.

<sup>344</sup> Critically edited with the commentary and published in no. 14 of the Śaṅkara-gurukula Series and in Sarasvatī-nīlaya Press, Madras 1875, with commentary (in Telugu characters). Cf. G XIII, 490, ascribed to Bālaka.

<sup>345</sup> KSH 502–3; KSG 1, 305–10; Kāvya-kalāpa I; KRSS and SKSD; cf. HC VII, 5490–1; translated by O. BÖHTLINGK, in his Indische Sprüche (see fn. 329 above).

<sup>346</sup> The Subhāṣitanīvi is included in this chapter, since its verses were composed by a single author. The Subhāṣitanīvi is published in KM, VIII, p. 151–64; in Oriental Press, Madras, Bhāgavata-varādhinī Press, Coimbatore; by M. T. NARASIMHA AIYANGAR, in Śrī Vanivilāsa Series 10 (1908); and with two commentaries in the India Printing Works, Myslapore 1971. Other works are attributed to the author (cf. Introduction to the M. T. Narasimha Aiyanger's edition, p. XI) (see fn. 329 above).

“Obtaining proficiency in one art that is pure, someone attains a high position; taking to a large number of tainted arts someone becomes gradually poorer”

or

“With one digit of the moon that is pure someone becomes the Lord of the mountain (Śiva); getting a large number of tainted digits one (i.e. the moon) wanes gradually”<sup>347</sup>.

Vetālabhaṭṭa's Nitipradīpa is a short collection of 16 very beautiful verses and wise sayings composed in a variety of metres. Many of the verses were culled from the Pañcatantra, the Hitopadeśa and other *kathā*-works, so-called collections of Cāṇakya's sayings, Bhartṛhari's *śataka*-s, etc. It is unlikely that Vetālabhaṭṭa was the author of this collection<sup>348</sup>. Verse 6 is characteristic of this collection:

“That she-bee which has never set foot on the blossom of the *bakula*-flower, since fate, alas, is cruelly adverse, flies now, out of thirst, to the worthless *badari*-tree”.

Vireśvara's Anyoktisataka is a collection of 105 stray *anyokti*-s in *sārdūlavikṛīḍita* and occasionally in *sragdharā* metres<sup>349</sup>. The following *anyokti* shows the nature of the poem (51):

“Quickly depart for another forest; eat the wild fruit; happy will be your abode there, do not therefore spoil your good fortune. Oh, elephant-cub, do not go into this forest! I am telling you for your own sake, for you know that (in the forest) there sleeps a lion who tears up the pride of elephants”.

These are only few of the best known didactic and gnostic poems; there are many more<sup>350</sup>, particularly still in manuscripts<sup>351</sup>.

<sup>347</sup> Omitted in the KM text.

<sup>348</sup> KSH 526–8; KSG 1, 366–77; Kāvyaśālāpa and SKSD (op. cit.); cf. HC VII, 5495.

<sup>349</sup> KM, V, p. 101–19.

<sup>350</sup> Many of the poems belong to other branches of literature, e.g. the Bhojaprabandha of Ballāla, where the narrative of Bhoja is intermingled with didactic verses and *subhāṣita*-s attributed to various poets, some of which were famous in India. Some of the works known only from MSS. could be included in chapters on erotic literature.

<sup>351</sup> Citraratnākara of Cakrakavi, a collection of humorous, yet wise sayings (AL 512–4); the poet appears to be the son of Lokanātha and brother of Rāmacandra and Patañjali; Jaḍavṛtta of Mādhava, a collection of stray verses describing the characteristics and sentiments of stupid people, especially their mad and vulgar love (DC, XX, 11970); incomplete; Kuśāsataka, an anonymous collection of stray verses containing a description of physical charms of women (DC, XX, 11936); Kuśopadeśa (Nitisāra), an anonymous collection of verses, divided into 3 *aṣṭaka*-s and containing lessons on worldly wisdom with a commentary (HC VII, 5496); Lakṣmīśarasvatīvāda, an anonymous collection of 110 stray verses in which Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī speak alternately, each praising herself and denouncing her rival; in this quarrel the former succeeded in silencing the latter (HC VII, 5515); Madanamukhacapeṭikā, an anonymous collection of 100 verses of which a part is a dialogue between a young lady and a recluse, she trying to allure his mind and he rejecting her advances sternly, dated *saṃvat* 1938 (1880 A. D.) (HC VII, 5520); Mrgāṅkaśataka of Kavi-kaṅkana, a collection of 100 stray verses praising the moon who inspired sentiments

of love (DC, XX, 11981); Nītidīpikā, an anonymous collection of wise counsels, incomplete (DC, VII, 5510); Nītiśataka of Kṛṣṇa Mohanakavi of Pūrvasthala in Bengal, a collection of 108 stray verses in 4 *sarga-s* of which 32 deal with childhood, 29 with youth, 28 with mature age and 19 with old age (HC, VII, 5508); Paranāri-rati-niṣedha-pañcaka, a short anonymous collection of didactic verses in which the intercourse with another man's wife is prohibited (HC, VII, 5521); Rasikajanarañjana of Vrajanarāja, son of Kāmarañjadikṣita, a collection of stray verses on the attraction and charms of women in three *śataka-s* (DC, XX, 11982); Siddhāntasudhātāṇi of Rāmacandrāgamī, an incomplete collection of stray verses divided into topics in the form of a dialogue between husband and wife (HC, VII, 5511); Stanapañcaka, an anonymous collection of five verses dealing with certain bodily charms of women, incomplete (DC, XX, 11991); Sūktivāridhi of Peddibhaṭṭa who belonged to the family of Mahopādhyāya of the Eleśvara city, an incomplete collection of ethical stray verses (HC, XX, 12143); Vidyāmañjarī of Dhīreśvara, a collection of 100 stray verses on the merits of learning, divided into two chapters, dated *śaka* 1736 (1814 A. D.) (HC, VII, 5518); Vidyāsundara of Caurakavi, a collection of 55 verses in the form of a dialogue between two lovers, Vidyā and Sundara (HC, VII, 5514); Vibudhopadeśa, an anonymous collection of verses enumerating all things which a Sanskrit scholar should know (HC, VII, 5512); Viśveśvarāryāśataka by Viśveśvara, son of Lakṣmīdhara, a collection of 100 stray *āryā-*verses describing the beauty and other attractive qualities of women (with the commentary Viśveśvarāryāśaptaśativyākhyā) (DC, XX, 11984-5).

Among others the following didactic poems and collections of *anyokti-s* are also known to exist: didactic poems: Āryāmañjarī of Devarāja, Āryāvijñapti of Rāmacandra, of Sītārāma and of Viśvanātha, Kavikaṇṭhābharāṇa, Nītikalpalatā of Sāhibrāma, Nītimañjarī of Śambhurāja, Nītimālā of Sadānanda (published in Calcutta), Nītisāra (also mentioned in DC, XX, 12062-7 in 6 MSS.), Nītiśāstrasamuccaya (also in DC, XX, 12055-61 in 7 MSS. of which no. 12055 is attributed to Cānakya), Nītiśataka of Śrīnivāśācārya (also in DC, XX, 12053), of Sundarācārya, of Veṅkatarāja and one anonymous, Nītisumāvalī of Appāvājapeyin, Śāntivilāsa of Haridāsa and of Subrahmanya, Vairāgyaśataka of Padmānanda, of Śaṅkarācārya and of Somanātha, Nītilāsa of Vrajarājaśukla and the Pañcatantrasaṃgraha; collections of *anyokti-s*: Anyāpadeśaśataka of Ekanātha Kāśyapi, of Gaṇapatiśāstri, of Gīrvāṇendra (also in DC, XX, 11994), of Ghanaśyāma, of Jagannātha and anonymous, Anyoktikāvya, Anyoktikanṭhābharāṇa of Candracūḍa, Anyoktimālā of Ācāndīkṣita (also in DC, XX, 11995), of Lakṣmīnṛsiṃha (also in DC, XX, 11996 but edited and published by Dr. K. Krishnamoorthy, op. cit.), Anyoktisamgrahādhyāya of Harikṛṣṇa, Anyoktiśataka of Bhaṭṭavīra, of Darśanavijayagaṇi and of Somanātha and Bhāvavilāsa of Nyāyavācaspati Rudraka (Kr. 318ff.); as well as in MSS. only Anyāpadeśapañcāśat of Gaṇapatiśāstri (AL 423) and Anyāpadeśapaddhati (anonymous) (AL 425). For more details see L. STERNBACH'S Introduction to Mahāsubhāṣitasamgraha, Vol. I, Delhi 1972. Also the anthology of verses attributed to Mayūra, the Mayūrāṣṭaka (The Mayūrāṣṭaka, an unedited Sanskrit poem by Mayūra by G. B. QUACKENBOS in JAOS 31, p. 343-344 and in Sanskrit Poems of Mayūra ed. by G. P. QUACKENBOS in Columbia University Indo-Iranian Series 9, p. 67-79), the Viṣṇubhaktikalpalatā of Puruṣottama (KM 31) and the Bhikṣāṭanakāvya of Utpreksāvallabha (Śivadāsa) (KM XII, p. 61-191 divided into 40 *paddhati-s*, from the 14th century; some verses are quoted in *subhāṣita-samgraha-s*, such as ŚP., VS., and JS.; it deals with the story of how Śiva went about as a mendicant and how his appearance in the street influenced the women of the town) could be added to this list, but the first is a collection of verses culled from poems of Mayūra, the second is a lyric poem, the third a devotional and philosophical treatise and the fourth an erotic and devotional poem.



Another type of poetry can be added to didactic literature, i.e. collections of riddles. Indian riddles belong also to the *muktaka* literature since they were composed in “detached” verses, so that each verse formed an entity by itself. They were very popular in India, the more so as Indian poets made always strenuous efforts to express nothing in a straight-forward manner and always desired to conceal as much as possible or to express an idea in a round about way (Dhvanyāloka 4. 5). Consequently riddles were considered as one of the 64 arts (*kalā-s*).

We find riddles, or theological riddles (*brahmodya-s*), already in the Veda-s, Brāhmaṇa-s, Āraṇyaka-s, Śrautasūtra-s, etc. They formed there an essential part of religious ceremonies (e.g. R̥gveda 1. 164; 1. 95. 4; 8. 29; Atharva-veda 9. 9; Vājasaneyi-saṃhitā 23. 9, 10, 47–8, 61–2, Taittirīya-saṃhitā 2. 5. 8. 3; 7. 4. 18; Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa 4. 6. 9. 20; 6. 2. 5; 11. 4. 1. 2; 5. 3. 1; 13. 2. 6. 9 sqq.; 5. 2.12 sqq.; 14. 6. 8. 1; Aitareya-brāhmaṇa 5. 25; Kauṣītaki-brāhmaṇa 27. 4; Taittirīya-brāhmaṇa 2. 5. 8, 3; Bṛhad-āraṇyaka-upaniṣad 3. 8. 1; Āpastamba-śrautasūtra 20. 19; Āśvalāyana-śrautasūtra 10. 9. 1–3; 8. 13. 13–4; Kātyāyana-śrautasūtra 10. 9. 1–3; 20. 7. 11. 124. 20; Lāṭyāyana-śrautasūtra 9. 10. 9; Śāṅkhāyana-śrautasūtra 16. 4–6. 13; 37. 1 sqq.; Vaitāna-sūtra 37. 1; 38. 5 sqq.; etc.). We find them also in the epics (e.g. Mahābhārata 1. 77–83; 3. 312–3), in the *kathā*-literature (e.g. Kathāsaritsāgara 5. 1. 65; 155 A; 72. 163 D), in the Buddhist literature (e.g. Samyutta 10. 12; Ālavaka-sutta 1. 10; Sūciloma-sutta 2. 5; Devatā-samyutta 1. 6. 4; Jātaka-s 17, 84, 135, 245, 257, 301, 319, 401, 414, 453, 473, 477, 483, 515, 516, 518, 521, 522, 530, 533, 539, 544, 545, 546; Puggalapaññatti IV; II. 1. 4. 25 sqq.; Cullavagga 4. 14, 14–5; Milindapañha 7 etc.), in the Jaina literature (e.g. Bhāvadeva Sūri’s Pārśvanātha-caritra 3. 105) and others. Riddles were defined in the *alaṃkāra-s* and particularly in Daṇḍin’s Kāvyaḍarśa (3. 98–123) and there divided into 16 categories. However these categories were soon forgotten. Indian riddles took the form of general puzzles, enigmas, charades, conundrums, logogriphs, anagrams, rebuses and even mathematical, grammatical, phonetical puzzles, etc. The most common riddles were ordinary, every day puzzles (*prahelikā-s*), charades with or without solutions in the text (*antar-ālāpa-s* and *bahir-ālāpa-s* respectively) and obscure, “crooked” riddles hard to solve without an explanation (*kūṭāni-s*). They were often written in artificial, ornate language and used often *śleṣa-s*, numerous types of *yamaka-s* and several puzzles were written so as to be read also in inverse direction, in zig-zag manner, in circles, in the form of a lotus flowers, etc. Numerous riddles were included in *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* where they were divided up to twelve categories and twenty-three sub-categories, different from those found in the Kāvyaḍarśa<sup>352</sup>. Several collections of riddles were composed probably not later than the fourteenth century A. D.

<sup>352</sup> L. STERNBACH, Indian Riddles; A Forgotten Chapter in the Histories of Sanskrit Literature (in preparation; will appear soon); cf. A. FÜHRER, Sanskrit Rätsel, in ZDMG 39, p. 99–102; M. HAUG, Vedische Rätselfragen und Rätselprüche,

One of the most famous collections of riddles is the Vidagdhamukhamaṇḍana of Dharmadāsa<sup>353</sup>. Dharmadāsa is a popular name and when Dharmadāsa, the author of the Vidagdhamukhamaṇḍana, lived is not known. He was certainly earlier than Śārngadhara, the author of ŚP. and Jalhana the author of JS., since some of Dharmadāsa's riddles are found there. He must be earlier than the second half of the thirteenth century, since one of his commentators, Jinaprabhasūri, was known to be active between 1293 and 1309. This collection of riddles, mostly *prahelikā-s* and *ālāpa-s*, often written in ornate and artificial language, is divided into 4 chapters and contains 220 verses written in Sanskrit and sometimes in Prākṛit. Several commentaries were written on the Vidagdhamukhamaṇḍana. The riddles are difficult to solve and they are like intelligence tests for paṇḍits well versed in grammar and poetics. One riddle, an *antar-ālāpa-riddle*, is quoted as an example (2, 31):

“What is difficult to find in the desert? (answer *ka*—water). Who opens a residence in a lotus? (answer *ka*—Brahmā). Where does the Goddess Cāmuṇḍā take pleasure in? (answer *ka*—heads of enemies). Say, whence did enemies run away? (answer *ku*—from the earth)”.

Another popular collection of riddles is the Bhāvaśataka of Nāgarāja (or Nāganātha). This is a collection of 101 or 102 riddles, mainly *kūṭāni-s*, written in a variety of metres, mostly in Sanskrit, but sometimes also in Prakrit. The verses are sometimes erotic in character and contain riddles by asking what a person would do in a certain situation and the reason why is explained either by the author or by the commentator at the end of the verse. The poem is published as being written by Nāgarāja, son of Jālaya (or Jālāpa), son of Vidyādhara of the Karpatti-gotra, one of the kings of the Ṭaka-dynasty. However, the work was probably only written under his patronage and the real author of the poem was Bhāva<sup>354</sup>. The following riddle (a *kūṭāni-riddle*) (4) with an answer provided by the author says:

“Oh Nāgārjuna, with eyes resembling the fresh lotus, when you start your chase the she-gazelles; do not fear; (on the contrary) their delight is more and more

*Sitzungsberichte der philos.-philologischen Classe d. k. Akademie der Wiss.* 1875, München 1876 (Bd. II. H. 3); R. ROTH, Lösung eines Rätsels im Veda in ZDMG 37. 104 sqq., *idem*, Das Rätsel . . . in ZDMG 48. 353; M. BLOOMFIELD, The Religions of the Veda, New York 1908; p. 205 and in JAOS 15. 172 sqq.; see also V. HENRY in Mémoires de la Société de linguistique 9. 247; E. WINDISCH, Māra und Buddha 3 sqq.; 222 sqq., 246 sqq.

<sup>353</sup> KSH 269–311; KSG 3, 87–192; Kāvyaśataka no. 3; with the Vidvanmandharā of Tārācandra, in Sanskrit Press, Benares 1866. Cf. HC, VII, 5523–31.

<sup>354</sup> KM, IV, p. 46–64 and in Grantha-ratna-mālā, Bombay 1887–91, Vol. I, p. 20ff. Cf. R. SCHMIDT, Das alte und moderne Indien, Bonn/Leipzig 1919, p. 184. Cf. BHANDARKAR, Report 1882–3, p. 9 and 188; P. PETERSON's Three Reports, p. 29 and 338; cf. HC, VII, 5497. Several riddles of the Bhāvaśataka (riddles 3, 5, 7, 9, 10) were quoted with their solutions given by Kāmakandalā in the Mādhavānala-Kāmakandalā-kathā of Ānanda. Cf. L. STERNBACH, The Mādhavānala-Kāmakandalā-kathā and its Sources in ABORI 54.

apparent. Why? (Answer: because they are bewildered, since they fell in love with you)".

Collections of riddles were popular in India; among others are the anonymous *Samasyādīpa*, in 175 verses of which 76 contain problematic lines of words to which a poet would be asked to give a sense and to put in a verse in his own way<sup>355</sup>. *Sītāvinodakāvya*, an anonymous work in 120 verses, describes in an enigmatic style<sup>356</sup> how Sītā felt during her separation from Rāma. Finally there are Kāśinātha's *Drṣṭakūṭārṇava*<sup>357</sup>, Himakara Śarmā's *Samsāra Vihāra-kāvya*<sup>358</sup>, *Prahelikāpahnuti-kūṭākhyāna*<sup>359</sup> and Lakṣmi Nārāyaṇa's *Samasyā-pūrtti*<sup>360</sup>. Many of the riddles are explained either by the author himself or by the commentator<sup>361</sup>.

To this type of literature also belong the satiric and didactic poems, particularly those of Kṣemendra<sup>362</sup>, one of the most prolific poets of India. He lived in Kāśmīr in the eleventh century (probably from 1010 to 1070). In the second chapter of his *Kavikanṭhābharana*, which contains advice to poets about how to write, Kṣemendra particularly emphasized that a good poet should, after having become acquainted with the whole world, bring out and highlight dissatisfaction, use wit and satire, possess the ability to observe, to select and to reject, to create something new, as well as to develop the salient points of his poetry. Kṣemendra possessed all these qualities and he used them, in particular, in his satiric, sarcastic, mocking, biting and didactic poems. These poems, showing an excellent knowledge of the society which he depicted, heighten the graphic picture of certain types of men and scenes painted with considerable sharpness of phrasing and characterization. These scenes expose all sorts of sham and hypocrisy of the society of his age. With remarkable precision and effect they expose the unscrupulous bunglings of the Indian bureaucracy (*kāyastha-s*), the clever tricks and snares of prostitutes and money-lenders, the arrogance of scholars, the voluptuous ventures of students, the ludicrous hankering of senile husbands, victims of quacks, astrologers and, in general, the sad plight of common people. His satire, which often lapses into coarse realism and sarcasm, is inspired by the consciousness of the social role of his poetry. He

<sup>355</sup> HC, VII, 5534.

<sup>356</sup> HC, VII, 5541.

<sup>357</sup> HC, VII, 5532.

<sup>358</sup> HC, VII, 5535.

<sup>359</sup> HC, VII, 5536.

<sup>360</sup> HC, VII, 5542.

<sup>361</sup> Most of the *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* mentioned above contain a few riddles, but there are also unpublished *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* exclusively composed of well-known riddles, as for instance the anonymous *Kāvya-kūṭhāra*, the *Prahelikākautūhala*, the *Samasyārṇava*, a collection of 575 verses divided into 6 chapters, the extensive Lakṣmaṇa's *Samasyārṇava*, etc. (HC, VII, 5538, 5537, 5544, 5543 respectively).

<sup>362</sup> Also called Vyāsādāsa. Cf. R. DUTTARAY, *Vyāsādāsa*, a name of Kṣemendra, in OH 11, 2, p. 71-8.

does not only lighten the evils of society but he also tries to cure them by sound advice in the form of detached didactic verses, often of epigrammatical flavour. In his writings Kṣemendra is more a satirist than a humourist; he is often outspokenly frank, repulsive and even vulgar and pornographic from the European point of view. In his pictures of the depravity of the Indian society he does not show much elegance and real poetry. He is also more a satirist and a critic than a poet<sup>363</sup>.

Kṣemendra was a prolific writer and his works, not all of which have been preserved to our days, may be divided into 5 groups: (1) didactic works; (2) satirical and didactic works; (3) poetical works; (4) treatises on poetics and metrics; and (5) miscellanea. Only the first two groups are dealt with in this chapter.

Pure didactic works are the Cārucaryā-śataka and the Caturvarga-saṃgraha and also partly the Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa. The satirical and didactic works are the Kalāvilāsa, the Darpadalana, the Deśopadeśa, the Narmamālā, the Sevyasavakopadeśa and the Samayamātrkā which rather belongs to erotic and satiric literature.

The Cārucaryā (The hundred verses of beautiful Life) is a collection of 100 stray verses in *anuṣṭubh* metre<sup>364</sup>; it often deals in a conventional manner with *dharma* and *artha*. Generally, the first line of the verse is a moral wise saying and the second an illustration of the truth proclaimed before, mostly drawn from purāṇa-s or epics. This work must have been very popular in India, since verses of the Cārucaryā are often included in *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s*, such as the Subhāṣitahārāvalī, which quotes one fifth of the work<sup>365</sup>, and in the

<sup>363</sup> Cf. S. K. DE, Wit, Humour and Satire in Ancient Indian Literature, in OH 3, 2, p. 157ff.; idem, Ancient Indian Erotics and Erotic Literature, Calcutta 1959, p. 45ff.; Dr. SURYAKANTA, in the Preface to his Kṣemendra Studies, in POS 91; H. G. NARAHARI, Pearls of Worldly Wisdom, The Aryan Path, March 1967, p. 123-8. P. N. PUSHP, Social Satire in Kṣemendra, in Summaries of Papers submitted to the 17th session of the All-India Conference, Allahabad 1953, p. 191ff.; OM BAJAJ, Kṣemendra as a Social Reformer in the Deśopadeśa, in JOIB 13, 3, p. 222ff.; idem, The Darpadalana of Kṣemendra—A Study, in PO 27, 3-4, p. 69ff.; idem, The Sevyasavakopadeśa of Kṣemendra, in BORS 47, p. 324ff.; J. R. A. LOMAN, Types of Kashmirian Society in Kṣemendra's Deśopadeśa, in ALB 31-2, p. 171ff.; N. S. ŚUKLA, Administration of Kashmir in the Eleventh Century, in Bull. of the Institute of Post-Graduate (Evening) Studies, Delhi, for 1963, p. 46ff.; J. NAUDOU, Aspects de la vie économique et sociale au Kaśmīr Médiéval. Thèse complémentaire pour le Doctorat ès Lettres présentée à la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines de l'Université de Paris; O. BOTTO, Il poeta Kṣemendra e il suo Daśavātāracarita. Notizia introduttiva, Torino 1951.

<sup>364</sup> KM, II, p. 128-38, reprinted in Kṣ (RP) 135-144, in Gupta Press, Calcutta (1907) 1910 and 1966, in Minto Press, Chittagong 1913, in Kamalā Press, Cocanada 1925, in Madras 1927, etc. Cf. P. PETERSON, Report 1882-83, p. 4-5; HC, VII, 5499.

<sup>365</sup> Verses 2, 6, 10, 11, 18, 21, 26, 29, 30, 31, 39, 40, 41, 43, 52, 55, 56, 57, 59, 80, 83. Cf. L. STERNBACH, On the Subhāṣitahārāvalī and on the Sūktisahasra in JGJRI 28. 3-4, pp. 101-147.

Nītisaṃgraha, and since the Nītimañjarī of Dyā Dviveda from the 15th century used it as model for his Nītimañjarī<sup>366</sup>. Cārucaryā's approach is evident from the following verse (99):

"In the last hours of one's life one should contemplate about Viṣṇu, the Remover of all difficulties; Bhīṣma on his death-bed of arrows contemplated about Viṣṇu (and attained salvation)".

The Caturvarga-saṃgraha<sup>367</sup> is one of the poorest works of Kṣemendra. It contains 111 stray verses divided into 4 chapters (*pariccheda-s*) of 27, 25, 25 and 29 verses respectively; they deal with *dharma*, *artha*, *kāma* and *mokṣa*. It is supposed to be a practical handbook of morals written in a variety of metres, but it is prosaic and dull. The *Kāmapariccheda*, stylistically and thematically more original, contains mostly descriptive verses, as for instance verse 3, 10:

"The pure rays of the laughter in love-sports of my beloved supply the fly-wisk emblem of a king; her breasts close to each other smeared with sandal paste are the golden pots for the coronation; her hips shining like gold are the throne; thus, this (beloved woman) is the empire of the kings; the other things which consist of victory and defeat are full of worries".

The Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa (A necklace for poets)<sup>368</sup> is a poem of only 55 verses divided into 5 chapters (*sadhi-s*) of 24, 23, 3, 2 and 3 verses respectively. It is a short treatise on the making of the poet. Particularly the second *sadhi* is didactic for it contains one hundred pieces of advice for the poet, e.g. (2, 12):

"He (the poet) should possess the talent of selecting and rejecting, and should have the ability to scrutinize, he should be independent, should frequent the sacrificial meetings and places of learning"<sup>369</sup>.

Kṣemendra did not construe his satiric and didactic works in the form of collections of stray verses. He usually divided them into chapters each of which dealt with a specific subject and he illustrated the subjects by witty stories. In these poems Kṣemendra has shown an excellent knowledge of society and experience of life and he depicted society with sarcasm. His remarks, sometimes expressed tediously, were concerned with topics rarely described by other poets. Perhaps the best of his satiric and didactic works is the Kalāvīlāsa<sup>370</sup>. It is a

<sup>366</sup> Op. cit.

<sup>367</sup> KM, V, p. 75–88, reprinted in Kṣ (RP) 119–134. Cf. P. PETERSON, Report 1882–3, p. 5.

<sup>368</sup> KM, IV, p. 149–69, reprinted in Kṣ (RP) 63–84; translated by Dr. SURYAKĀNTA, in Kṣemendra Studies, op. cit., p. 91ff. Cf. idem, Introduction, p. 43ff., cf. Sitzungsberichte der phil.-hist. Klasse der kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien 1884; J. SCHÖNBERG, Kṣemendra's Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa, Wien 1884; ZDMG 41 (1887), p. 488ff.

<sup>369</sup> Dr. SŪRYAKANTHA's translation.

<sup>370</sup> KM, I, p. 34–79, reprinted in Kṣ (RP) 219–71; translated into German by R. SCHMIDT, in the Festgabe ehemaliger Schüler zum 70. Geburtstag des Professor Ernst MEHLISS, in Eisleben 1914 (I–IV) and in WZKM 28, p. 406ff. Cf. J. J. MEYER, Altindische Schelmenbücher 1, p. XIff.

poem divided into 10 cantos (*sarga-s*) of 96, 89, 76, 40, 46, 33, 26, 29, 73 and 43 *āryā*-verses respectively in which the legendary Mūladeva<sup>371</sup> discusses with his young disciple Candragupta various forms of cheating, greed, the pitiable condition of those in love, the viles of women, the deceitful character of harlots, the unscrupulousness of *kāyastha-s*, the pride and arrogance of drunkards, bards, dancers, actors, singers, goldsmiths and he ends his satire with good advice to young men how to avoid falling into evil ways. Kṣemendra illustrates his remarks with amusing tales. In particular in this work, the poet has shown his mastery of the use of Sanskrit language and his satire is lively and effective. Entertaining, though not very original, is for instance the characterization of harlots:

“Harlots who are deceitful, covetous of the every last penny, given to momentary pleasures, honey-sweet in speech, penetrate into the hearts of those whose prudence had abandoned them” (4, 22).

Another one of Kṣemendra's good satiric and didactic works is the Darpadalana (Smashing of Pride)<sup>372</sup>. It is divided into seven chapters (*vicāra-s*) of 82, 113, 154, 75, 45, 54 and 73 verses respectively written in a variety of metres. It is more a didactic than an satiric poem. Each chapter begins with a series of wise sayings illustrated by means of witty stories in which pride is the main subject, for the Darpadalana is a diatribe against pride due to high birth, wealth, knowledge, beauty, heroism, charity or asceticism. The didactic style of the Darpadalana is well expressed in the following maxim (5, 23):

“To protect the life of others is the sole highest heroism; he who deprives one of his life is no hero; but he who spares the life of one who begs for it, is”.

The Deśopadeśa<sup>373</sup>, one of the earliest works of Kṣemendra, is a poem divided into eight cantos (*upadeśa-s*) of 24, 36, 48, 34, 28, 45, 31 and 52 verses respectively composed in a variety of metres<sup>374</sup>. The poem is a satirical work and is sometimes vulgar; it is full of wise sayings. It ridicules the cheat, the miser, the prostitute, the bawd, the *viṭa*, the Gauḍa-student in the Kaśmiri University for his behaviour and arrogance, the old man's marriage with a young girl, *kāyastha-s*, poets, fickle wives, merchants, alchemists, false ascetics, quacks, grammarians, etc. Characteristic of Deśopadeśa's style is the description of a prostitute (3, 2 and 13):

<sup>371</sup> Cf. M. BLOOMFIELD, The Character and Adventures of Mūladeva, in Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society 52, p. 616ff.; P.-E. PAVOLINI, Vicende del tipo di Mūladeva, GSAI 9, p. XLff.

<sup>372</sup> KM, VI, p. 66–118, reprinted in Kṣ (RP) 145–206. Translated into German by R. SCHMIDT, in ZDMG 69, p. 1–51. Cf. B. A. HIRSZBANT, Über Kṣemendras Darpadalana, St. Petersburg 1892; OM BAJAJ, op. cit.; HC, VII, 5498.

<sup>373</sup> Published together with Narmamālā in Kashmir Sanskrit Series of Texts and Studies no. 40, Poona 1924, reprinted in Kṣ (RP) 273–306. Not translated, with the exception of the third *upadeśa* by L. STERNBACH (The Third Lesson of Kṣemendra's Deśopadeśa), in PO 25, p. 8–19. J. R. A. LOMAN, op. cit.; OM BAJAJ, op. cit.

<sup>374</sup> But mostly in *śloka-s* with the closing verses in each *upadeśa* in other metres and with the eighth *upadeśa* in *āryā*-metre.

“She is utterly artificial and never sincere; she is like a restless dancing mechanical wooden puppet with strings; . . . she is like sweet honey in her speech, like a razor’s edge at heart; and like an axe’s edge in depriving of wealth her paramours who are attached to her”.

The Narmamālā<sup>375</sup> is akin to the Deśopadeśa and somewhat complementary thereof; the satire is less biting and severe and the poem seldom contains wise sayings and it is rather a narrative satire than a didactic satire. The Narmamālā is divided into three *parihāsa*-s (jokes) of 148, 145 and 114 verses respectively, largely in *śloka* metre. In this work Kṣemendra ridiculed the administration and in particular the *kāyastha*-s whom he mocks in their public and private life, including their wives, the tax-collectors, the physicians, the astrologers, etc. Amusing, but at the same time biting, is the description of a tax-collector who comes to a village to collect taxes. It is rather an account of a plunder or a raid than a description of a lawful act (6, 122–3):

“When he enters the village (he shouts): ‘confiscation of all goods! Chains! Prison! Destruction of houses!’—frightful words come out of his mouth again and again . . . Five or six porters packed like camels carry (goods) for him . . . everything that was indicated: butter, honey . . . etc.”.

To this group of poems of Kṣemendra also belongs the Sevyasevakopadeśa<sup>376</sup> (Instruction for the Servant and the Served). It is a short poem of 61 verses written in a variety of metres containing shrewd reflections on the relation of master and servant with the didactic motive to improve their mutual relations. It ends with the following *upajāti*-verse (61):

“Ever ready to honour the learned and full of the flavours of contentment and service, Kṣemendra by name has composed the *Sevāvasara* for the eternal bliss of the wise”<sup>377</sup>.

Among others, Kṣemendra also wrote an erotic, satiric and didactic poem: the Samayamātrkā. He was undoubtedly inspired by Dāmodaragupta’s Kuṭṭānīmata (also called Śaṃhalīmata) (Advice of a Procuree)<sup>378</sup>, a poem of 927 to

<sup>375</sup> Published together with the Deśopadeśa, see above and reprinted in Kṣ (RP) 307–346. Not translated.

<sup>376</sup> KM, II, p. 79–85, reprinted in Kṣ (RP) 207–15. Not translated. Cf. OM BAJAJ, op. cit.

<sup>377</sup> Dr. SURYAKĀNTHA’S translation.

<sup>378</sup> KM, III, p. 32–116 (defective) in Bibl. Ind. no 266, ed. by MADHUSUDAN KAUL, Calcutta 1944; and with a commentary called Rasadīpikā, in the Guzerati Printing Press 1924. Also edited by Tanasukharam Manassukharam Tripathi with a Sanskrit Commentary in 1924; by ATRIDEVA VIDYĀLAMKĀRA, Vārāṇasī 1961, with a Hindi translation. Cf. HC. VII, 5085–6; P. PETERSON, Report 1883–84, p. 23–33. The work was first translated into German by J. J. MEYER, in Altindische Schelmenbücher II, Lotus Verlag, Leipzig (Schelmenbücher—books of rogues, is not a very happy title because of the didactic character of the poem). The German translation was used for the English (incomplete) translation by E. POWYS MATHERS in Eastern Love, Vol. I, London 1927 and by LOUIS DE LANGLE for his translation in French “Les leçons de l’entremetteuse”, Le Livre des amours de l’Orient, Vol. IV, Paris 1920. There is also a Hindī translation by JAGANNĀTHA PATHAK (Mitra

1058 *āryā* verses (not divided into chapters). Dāmodaragupta was, as Kalhaṇa reported, a well-known Kāśmīrian poet and minister of Jayāpīḍa of Kāśmīr (779–813 A. D.). Although a Kāśmīrian, he must have lived in Vārāṇasī, since he knew the town well and the action of his poem takes place in the holy City. In the Kuṭṭanīmata, Mālatī, a prostitute from Vārāṇasī, addressed herself to a procuress Vikarālā for instruction how to attract lovers. The procuress gave her shrewd lessons how to ensnare a lover (in particular Cintāmaṇi, son of a high official) and how to win a man's love and fortune. Many of her advices are didactic verses illustrated by amusing, cunning love tales, e.g. of another prostitute Hāralatā and Sudarśana and Mañjari and king Samarabhaṭṭa, etc. The work ends with the explanation of the reason why the poem was written: in order to help people from being cheated by wicked women, rogues and procuresses. The work was thus intended to be a didactic work based on the study of the science of the Kāmasūtra. That is the reason that many European scholars consider this work as pornography<sup>379</sup>. In reality, however, it is a highly polished *kāvya*-work which "sets forth with graceful touches of wit and humour delicate problems in the doctrine of love"<sup>380</sup>. It is distinctly artistic and "its merit lies in the elegantly polished and facetious style with which the droll life, possibly of contemporary society, is painted with considerable power of polite banter and gentle ridicule. The erotic tendency undoubtedly prevails, but there is no didactic moralizing, nor any squeamish language in describing women and their ways"; it is a farcial sketch in which moral depravity is openly and amusingly depicted by the author, not with approval, but with the object of making it look ludicrous<sup>381</sup> and to quote profound thoughts in the form of *subhāṣita*-s of epigrammatic tendency often with plenty of humour and kindly wit. Dāmodaragupta who knew the Kāmasūtra-s<sup>382</sup>, painted rogues and gullible fools vividly and benignantly and rather than creating a biting satire, he created a benevolent comedy in which he depicted delicate problems and exposed human weaknesses and faults with not too toothless an irony. He showed good taste and restraint, so that his work can be considered as an elegant piece of poetry of considerable interest and unique in its style and sort<sup>383</sup>;

Prakarāṇa), Allahabad 1961. Cf. J. J. MEYER's introduction to his Altindische Schelmenbücher and AJAY MITRA SHASTRI, The Reading and Interpretation of a Verse in the Kuṭṭanīmata in the Light of Epigraphic and Purāṇic Evidence, in Purāṇa 13, 2, p. 160ff.; cf. Calcutta Oriental Journal 1 (1934), p. 348ff.

<sup>379</sup> G. BÜHLER, in Indian Antiquary (1885) 14, p. 351; M. WINTERITZ, GIL 3, p. 151; A. B. KERTE, HSL 236; S. N. DASGUPTA and S. K. DE, HSL in Editor's Notes, p. 675; O. BOTTO, Letterature antiche dell'India, p. 182.

<sup>380</sup> S. K. DE, Treatment of Love in Sanskrit Literature, in Ancient Indian Erotics and Erotic Literature, Calcutta 1959, p. 45.

<sup>381</sup> S. K. DE, Wit, Humour and Satire in Ancient Indian Literature, in OH 3, 2, p. 173 and in HSL, p. 198.

<sup>382</sup> Cf. DASHARATHA SHARMA, The Kuṭṭanīmata and the Kāmasūtra, in Calcutta Oriental Journal I, 12, p. 378–80.

<sup>383</sup> The Kuṭṭanīmata is also important because it supplies us with some pieces of valuable historical and literary information, e.g. the description of the enactment



it was considered as such in classical and mediaeval India; the frequent quotations from Dāmodaragupta's work in *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* and *alaṃkāra-s* prove this.

As an example of the thought and style of the Kuṭṭanimata one of the numerous elegant *subhāṣita-s* uttered by Hārālatā is quoted here (307):

"The red passion is upon their (courtezans') lips, not in their hearts, for these are darker; there is straightness in their encompassing arms, not in their nature; they are lifted by the pride of heavy breasts, not by their conduct; and it is by conduct that the just discriminate"<sup>384</sup>.

On the other hand, Kṣemendra's Samayamātrkā, the imitation of Dāmodaragupta's Kuṭṭanimata, does not have the same merits. Kṣemendra did not show in his work any poetical talent or elegance. His work is often vulgar and it is not an amusing comedy, but an acrid, cheap satire, often in bad taste. The Samayamātrkā<sup>385</sup> is a poem in 8 chapters (*samaya-s*) of 52, 108, 37, 134, 90, 36, 56 and 129 verses respectively composed mostly in *śloka* and *āryā* metres. It depicts the snares of prostitutes, as told by an old procuress who taught a young prostitute Kalāvati how to achieve mastery in her new profession and it is illustrated by didactic sayings and amusing stories. The bawd's witty instructions aid Kalāvati to cheat a young fool and his stupid parents. Kṣemendra again proved to be an expert in Kāmasūtra-s and a keen observer of life in Kāśmīr which he described with true realism and biting sarcasm. He did not show the lightness of touch of Dāmodaragupta nor his wit. As in other works he remained a harsh, if not rude, satirist without any gift of light humorous approach to the delicate problems raised in the work. However, Kṣemendra's poem is not pornographic but only a realistic satire on prevalent depravity in which certain types of men and women are painted with considerable sharpness of phrasing and characterization<sup>386</sup>. Particularly colourful is the beginning of the poem in which Kṣemendra narrated the wanderings and tricks used by the procuress in her early days. The following teachings of the procuress taken from the chapter on how to break the relations with a lover, illustrates her lessons (8, 115)<sup>387</sup>:

"A woman is no man's servant except when his hands are full (of gold); as soon as his money is finished, she is as hard for him to reach as a place in Heaven"<sup>388</sup>.

of the Ratnāvali. Cf. A. M. SHASTRI, Historical Data in the Kuṭṭanimata of Dāmodaragupta, in JIH (1968), p. 357-67.

<sup>384</sup> E. POWYS MATHER'S translation.

<sup>385</sup> KM, 10; reprinted in Kṣ (RP) 349-416. Translated into German by J. J. MEYER, in Altindische Schelmenbücher I, Lotus Verlag, Leipzig. The German translation was used for the English (incomplete) translation by E. POWYS MATHERS, in Eastern Love, Vol. 2, London 1927 and by LOUIS DE LANGLE, in his translation in French "Le Bréviaire de la Courtisane", Le Livre des amours de l'Orient, Paris 1920 (incomplete).

<sup>386</sup> S. K. De, Wit, Humour and Satire . . . op. cit., p. 173-4.

<sup>387</sup> Cf. Kāmasūtra of Vātsyāyana, chapter 6, p. 3.

<sup>388</sup> E. POWYS MATHERS' translation.

The latter two texts are on the borderline between didactic and gnostic literature and erotic literature; poems belonging to the latter branch of Sanskrit literature can very often also be included among collections of stray verses (*subhāṣita-s*), as for instance the Amaruśataka.

## ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE CHAPTERS ON ANTHOLOGIES AND DIDACTIC AND GNOMIC LITERATURE

ABORI	Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona
AGGW	Abhandlungen der phil.-histor. Klasse der kön. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen
AKM	Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, herausgegeben von der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft
AL	Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Adyar Library, Vol. V. The Adyar Library, 1951
ALB	The Adyar Library Bulletin, Adyar
ĀnSS	Anandāśrama Sanskrit Series, Poona
ASB	Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta
Ava	Avaśiṣṭānyokti of Pāṇḍitarāja in Pāṇḍitarāja-kāvya-saṃgraha; pp. 121-190. Sanskrit Academy Series 2, Hyderabad 1958.
BhŚ	Mahākavi-Bharṭṭhari-viracita, Śatakatrāyādi-subhāṣitasamgraha, ed. by D.D. Kosambi in SJS. 23
BhJ	See BhV Journal
BhV	Bhāratīya Vidyā, A Monthly Research Organ of the Bhavan, Bombay
BhV.Journal	Bhāratīya Vidyā, Bhavan's Journal (Fortnightly), Bombay
BORI	Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona
BORS	Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Journal of
BSOAS or BSOS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental (and African) Studies, London
Cr	Cāṇakya-Nīti Text-Tradition by L. Sternbach, Vol. II. 2 and II. 3. Vishveshvaranand Indological Series 29 (a) and 29 (b)
DC	see HC
G	Descriptive Catalogue of the Government Collection of Manuscripts deposited at the BORI, compiled by P. K. Gode. Vol. XIII. Kāvya, Poona 1940-42
GIL	Geschichte der Indischen Literatur by M. Winternitz
GMLM	Government Manuscripts Library, Madras
GOS	Gaekwad Oriental Series, Baroda
GSAI	Giornale della Società Asiatica Italiana
HC	Haraprasāda Śāstri, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Collections of the ASB., Vol. VII, Calcutta 1934
HIL	History of Indian Literature
HOS	Harvard Oriental Series, Cambridge, Massachusetts
HSL	History of Sanskrit Literature
HSS	Haridass Sanskrit Series, Vārāṇasī
IA	Indian Antiquary, Bombay
IHQ	Indian Historical Quarterly, Calcutta
IJJ	Indo-Iranian Journal, The Hague
IS	Indische Sprüche von O. Böhtlingk, 2te Auflage I-III, St. Petersburg 1870-3
JA	Journal Asiatique, Paris

JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society, New Haven, Conn.
JAS (Calcutta)	Journal of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta
JASB	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta
JBBRAS or JBRAS	Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay
JGJRI	Journal of the Gaṅganātha Jhā Research Society (later: Kēndriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha), Allahabad
JIH	Journal of Indian History, Trivandrum
JOIB	Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda
JOR	Journal of Oriental Research, Madras
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, London
JS	Jalhana's Sūktimuktāvalī in Gaekwad's Oriental Series 82, Baroda 1938
Kāvya-kalāpa	Kāvya-kalāpa, Gunpat Krishnaji Press, Bombay 1864
KM	Kāvya-mālā (followed by Roman numerals: A Collection of old and rare Sanskrit Kāvyas, Nāṭakas, Champūs, Bhāṇas, Prahāsanas, Cchandās, Alaṅkāras, etc. I-XIV, Bombay 1886-1906; Followed by Arabic numerals: Kāvya-mālā Series 1-95, Bombay 1886-1913)
Kr	M. Krishnamachariar, History of Classical Sanskrit Literature, Reprinted, Banarsidass, Delhi etc. 1970
KRSS	Kāvya-ratna-sāra-saṃgraha compiled by Bholānātha Mukhopādhyāya, Calcutta 1876
KSG	Kāvya-saṃgraha compiled by Jivānanda Vidyāsāgara, 3rd ed. in three volumes, Calcutta 1888
KSH	Kāvya-saṃgraha compiled by J. Haeberlin, Calcutta 1847
Kṣ(RP)	Kṣemendralaghukāvyasaṅgraha edited by E. V. V. Rāghavāchārya and D. G. Padhye in Sanskrit Academy Series 7, The Sanskrit Academy, Osmania University, Hyderabad, 1961
NIA	New Indian Antiquary, Poona
NSP	Nirṇaya Sāgara Press, Bombay
OH	Our Heritage, Calcutta
PO	Poona Orientalist, Poona
POS	Poona Oriental Series, Poona
PT	The Pañcatantra (Tantrākhyāyikā), HOS 14.
Purāṇa	Purāṇa, Half-yearly Bulletin of the Purāṇa Department, All India Kashiraj Trust, Fort Ramnagar, Vārāṇasī
RAS	Royal Asiatic Society
RO	Rocznik Orientalistyczny, Lwów-Warszawa
SIFI	Studi Italiani di Filologia Indo-iranica
SJS	Siṅghī Jain Series, Bombay
SKSD	Saṃskṛta-kāvya-saṃgraha compiled by Dīnanātha Nyāyaratna, Calcutta 1869
ŚP	Śārṅgadhara-paddhati, Bombay Sanskrit Series 37
SRK	Subhāṣita-ratnākara compiled by K. S. Bhātavadekar, Bombay 1872
TSS	Trivandrum Sanskrit Series.
VIJ	Viśveśvaranand Indological Journal, Hoshiarpur
VI Series	Viśveśvaranand Indological Series, Hoshiarpur
VS	Vallabhadeva's Subhāṣitāvalī in Bombay Sanskrit Series 31
WZKM	Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, Vienna
YJG	Yasovijaya Jaina Granthamālā
ZDMG	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft

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